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Sub-Saharan Africa

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Chad

State Council Adopts Annual Budget for 1991

AB0501135891 Ndjamenat Domestic Service
in French 1900 GMT 29 Dec 90

[Statement by Mustapha Ali Alipheï, commissioner for civil service and labor, in Ndjamenat on 29 December 1990 following adoption of the 1991 budget by the Council of State—recorded]

[Text] In his presentation of the budget, the commissioner for planning and equipment described the key headings used to draw up the budget: Chad's commitments to donors and international institutions and the national and international economic crisis. He also noted to the Council of State that during its working sessions, the budgetary commission analyzed the proposals on receipts, expenses, and back-up measures to be adopted for the 1991 budget with realism, rigor, and prudence.

There followed a long debate, especially on the particular situation in our country and the need to elaborate the basic documents that will govern public finance. Following subtle amendments, the Council of State adopted the general budget, which stands at 126,554,878,000 CFA francs in receipts and 135,502 billion CFA francs in expenses, with a break down as follows: 96 billion CFA francs for investment expenses and 32,502 billion CFA francs [figures as heard] for operational expenses.

Thus, there is an estimated deficit of 8,943 billion CFA francs. The budget is tentative and may be amended during the year.

Zaire

Defense Minister Denies Coup Attempt, Arrests

LD0701183191 Brussels Domestic Service
in French 1700 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] Denial in Kinshasa: There has been no abortive coup d'etat or plot in Zaire; there have been no arrests of officers of the Zairian Army. This is how the Zairian defense minister has just responded following reports published by certain press agencies that a dozen senior officers, including a former chief of staff of the Zairian Army, have been in detention for three weeks and put under house arrest.

Also in Zaire, the strike launched by the opposition appears to have been a failure. There has been no strike and no demonstration either in Kinshasa or in the rest of the country. Furthermore, President Mobutu has officially met with representatives of the opposition for the first time: It is a first. Several parties, including the UDPS—the Union for Democracy and Social Progress—the Democratic and Christian Social Party, the independent republicans [Party of Independent Republicans] of Nguza Karl-i-Bond, and supporters of Lumumba took part in this meeting with Marshal Mobutu.

Mobutu Meets Opposition Leaders on Constitution

AB0701182691 Dakar PANA in English 1813 GMT
7 Jan 91

[Text] Dakar, 7 Jan (PANA)—President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire held discussions with leaders of political groups Sunday at N'sele, on the outskirts of Kinshasa, on the future constitution, a timetable for elections and the formation of a transition government demanded by the opposition. Reports made available to the PAN AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY (PANA), in Dakar Monday, quoted the spokesman of the opposition, Professor Ngoma, as saying that before any elections could be organized, the type of government that will run national institutions must be defined through constitutional arrangements. Ngoma said the opposition would come up with proposals on the issues to the head of state, emphasizing that the major results of the Sunday meeting could be seen as a manifestation of the unification of Zairians through diverse opinions.

The meeting was the first ever between the Zairian leader and members of the opposition since the introduction of multipartism in the country on 24 April, 1990. The opposition, it will be recalled, has called for the summoning of a national conference with minimum delay to fix a timetable for the democratization process in Zaire and the formation of a government of national unity to run the affairs of the country during the transition to the Third Republic.

*UNTZA Chief Calls for Anti-Inflation Plan

91AF0338A Kinshasa ELIMA in French
27 Nov 90 pp 8, 9

[Interview with National Union of Workers of Zaire (UNTZA) President Katalay by Angelo-Mobateli and Monsa Iyaka Duku in Kinshasa on 20 November 1990]

[Text] In the statement published by its executive committee on 31 October 1990, the National Union of Workers of Zaire [UNTZA] voiced its deep concern about the socioeconomic situation of the people in Zaire in general, and that of the workers in particular.

An analysis of this situation, it was noted, reveals the lack of a rational and overall price policy, which has led to a dizzying cost spiral for such routine services and consumer products as medicines, foodstuffs, school equipment and books, fuels, and cement. The UNTZA then emphasized that while the cost of work, that is to say wages, is developing very slowly, the costs of goods and services are increasing at an uncontrollable rate, in the name of a certain economic liberalism. The result thereof is a catastrophic loss of purchasing power for the working masses.

The executive committee noted bitterly, in conclusion, that the government is standing by passively while the situation deteriorates, and is failing to take steps to draft an effective policy in the housing, health, food, and education sectors. And this despite the fact that it is known that the absence of such a policy constitutes a factor which has a disastrous influence on purchasing power.

As a result of all this, the UNTZa has demanded that the government:

1. Decree energetic measures to bring down inflation, which leads to a loss of purchasing power and instability for consumer prices.
2. Establish the new interoccupational guaranteed minimum wage in such a way as to reconcile the wage scales in both the public and private sectors.
3. Regulate the prices of services and goods of first necessity, in particular mass transportation, water, and electricity, by revising the rates and imposing systematic control over the mechanisms used to set them.
4. Index wages to the cost of living, with a view to ensuring recovery of the workers' purchasing power.
5. Effect an immediate revision of the law on the scheduled contributions from professional income such as to adapt it to the current social realities, through a revision of the tax brackets.
6. Urgently demand the promulgation of the new labor code already approved by the National Labor Council, the revision of the general statute governing state personnel, and the drafting of the trade-union by-laws for that group of workers.
7. Involve the UNTZa in the state budget studies for the year 1991, particularly where the salaries of civil servants are concerned.
8. Stabilize the currency, with a view to developing savings and favoring investment, in order to guarantee continuous, balanced, and diversified economic growth.
9. Eliminate its domestic debt to certain local enterprises, in particular construction firms, in order to avoid harmful repercussions on our national labor force, to wit, unemployment, technical suspensions, and delays in the payment of wages.

Ten days later, on 9 November, the president of the UNTZa, during a visit to Shaba, reminded the participants in the meeting of representatives of the trade unions in Lubumbashi that "when an employer hires a worker, his only concern is to exploit his energies and his capacities."

On the subject of trade-union pluralism, he stated that "contrary to what observers often say, the UNTZa has not, during the Second Republic, been a single trade union (...). The UNTZa represents the union of a

number of older trade unions which, having become aware of the weakness resulting from their ideological tendencies, decided to join together to establish a force that could deal with an owner's class, whose social conduct was still reminiscent of the colonial past, in a general way. And this conduct has not changed today. On the contrary." As a result, Mr. Katalay believes that "the establishment of another system of multiple trade unions, ill-understood and poorly implemented, poses the danger of returning us to the situation that existed prior to the UNTZa—one of interunion struggles. Meanwhile, the owners, for their part, through their union, the ANEZA [National Association of Zairian Enterprises], are revealing themselves to be even more determined today than they were yesterday to remain united and to show solidarity." The letter Mr. Katalay sent to the minister of civil service on 19 November, moreover, pursued this line. In it, he pointed out that "by virtue of the legal provisions in effect, those employed in the public departments of the state may not organize other than within the framework of the UNTZa, since that is, as of the present, the only officially recognized central trade union."

It was, therefore, about all of this and a number of other subjects that we talked with the president of the UNTZa. He said that in view of the explosive situation that threatens the country, the UNTZa may issue an appeal for a general strike in Zaire. However, he emphasized, this is the product of the maturity and education of the workers.

We offer our good readers the following exclusive interview, which was granted by the president of the UNTZa to the newspaper ELIMA. The interview took place in his office on Tuesday, 20 November.

Indexed Wages

[ELIMA] At the time you took up your duties as president of the UNTZa on 18 September 1990, what precisely was the status of trade-union action in Zaire?

[Katalay] I prefer that we always use "comrade" as a form of address. This represents a whole philosophy. I would say that where trade-union action is concerned, it had passed through a difficult period during the Second Republic because of the fact that the people did not really understand the concept of party discipline. This was true to the point that the workers gave in, in the sense of the meaning of the word "submission." Trade-union action had almost ceased. The workers were at the mercy of their employers. Trade-union action reflected this. Nonetheless, a large number of collective bargaining agreements that made a series of contributions were signed during this period.

But to the extent that the interoccupational guaranteed minimum wage had remained at a very low level, wage increases were not felt, insofar as they had failed to follow the market situation. That is the explanation of the fact that today, whatever efforts may be under way, wages remain at a level that can never catch up with

prices. The workers find themselves in a situation that is pushing them toward explosion. For while prices have taken the elevator, wages are starting up the staircase on foot.

[ELIMA] What is the philosophy that you and your collaborators plan to adopt to achieve dynamic trade-union action, which would be capable of reestablishing trust between the trade union and the workers?

[Katalay] At one time, we were contemplating the wage, job, and housing policies with a view to resolving a certain number of problems. But it was absolutely necessary to begin with the wage policy. Discussions were held on the level of the National Labor Council, involving the government, the ANEZA, and the UNTZA. This wage policy has been ready since last year, and the government was supposed to submit it to the National Assembly. We have learned that it will be submitted to that body for debate. This must necessarily be done, for otherwise, matters would be difficult.

Then it is necessary to combat inflation, which has reached a high level. At the present time, prices are crushing wages. We have asked the government to implement a program of struggle against inflation. But we are still waiting, for no program has appeared. This is why we have proposed that wages be indexed, as has been done in Brazil, Gabon, and elsewhere.

It is true that we are being told that increasing wages leads to an increase in inflation. But if there is no program for combating inflation, the solution lies in indexing wages. And we are preparing the workers to demand that this be done. Let no one accuse us of demagoguery now.

[ELIMA] Will the hopeful workers continue to believe in you?

[Katalay] The trade union of today is not the trade union of the past. Yesterday, it was the permanent employees who met in place of and on behalf of the workers, and who made decisions without informing the workers of them. Today, above all since the second special congress of the UNTZA last September, things have changed—or, let us say, they are bound to change. The trade union is not Katalay, nor is it the permanent employees. It is, above all, the workers. We are in the process of organizing them so that they will become aware that they are the union. The permanent employees are only staffers, experts, and guides together with whom we study the proposed solutions. The actions must be carried out by the workers who are experiencing the reality, and who should react.

The fact that the government employees have become aware of their situation, have met together, and have demanded their rights—that is trade unionism. We congratulate them. All that we ask of them is that they remain united in solidarity.

The Social Explosion

[ELIMA] Whatever the wage increase the government decides upon may be, it would be meaningless unless accompanied by domestic production. The currency would continue to depreciate, bringing with it the erosion of purchasing power. There is a situation here which, in view of the deterioration of the national economy and the price spiral, requires urgent government measures. Given the current state of affairs, what kind of pressure is it possible for the trade union to exert?

[Katalay] Very great pressure. We have just recently come from Lubumbashi, where prices constitute a heavy burden. They have reached incredible levels. The people find themselves in a situation at this time such that any organization becomes difficult. We met with them, and we have discussed matters together. They have given us their initial support. From the myriad solutions proposed, the indexing of wages was selected.

However, the people in Shaba do not understand. Copper production has reached a higher volume level than in earlier years. Thus the problem is not production. It is to be found elsewhere, notably in the road, transportation, and communications sectors, which are essential for getting the production to the consumption centers. It is the duty of those who govern the country to consider this matter, for the fault lies either with the employers or the government.

We know that the currency problem is linked to domestic production, which itself is affected by the deterioration of the equipment and the roads, and the lack of transport facilities. What is a consequence? We do not export, and production is locally blocked. That is the case with cotton. In my opinion, the problem does not lie with the workers' sector.

[ELIMA] Do you not fear a social explosion if the government fails to adopt measures to improve the living conditions of the workers?

[Katalay] A social explosion? We are experiencing it already! As we speak here, there is a strike in Lubumbashi. How can one fail to have fears with this inflation? But it is not enough to be fearful. It is necessary that there be knowledge on the government level of how to take some action. And how can this be ensured? We are proposing steps to set everything in motion—so that the economy, which has come to a standstill, will move forward. No roads, no transportation...the results can be seen in the prices and wages.

Reducing Public Expenditures

[ELIMA] Is it your impression that the transition government has the ability to resolve all of these problems?

[Katalay] I believe that it is absolutely necessary to reduce public expenditures if one wants to bring inflation down. I think that the transition government has the means to do this, but there is a need to begin to think

about the problem. The government should hold discussions with the trade union, with the ANEZA, so as to agree on a line of action.

Unfortunately, such agreement exists. And yet the government-ANEZA-UNTZA triumvirate could help us to advance. Now each of these sectors is complaining and using the others as scapegoats.

[ELIMA] Where the government and the ANEZA are concerned, the atmosphere is one of dialogue and renewal of trust. But you, the representatives of the workers, have not been involved in this. Do you have the same feeling of optimism about an agreement wherein the interests of the workers are not being defended? Would this not constitute a plot against the workers?

[Katalay] In our capacity as representatives of the workers, we are not happy. We believe that two birds should have been killed with one stone. What was achieved was an agreement among employers. Where the workers are concerned, the government and the ANEZA are "employers."

They should understand us, and find solutions closer to the reality.

[ELIMA] Do you mean that there has been no subsequent agreement between the UNTZA and the ANEZA?

[Katalay] No, not yet, apart from collective negotiations on the enterprise level, or again the quarterly or semiannual meetings—again on the level of the companies.

Appeal for General Strike

[ELIMA] Zaire has just entered into the era of multiple political parties, which would, ipso facto, lead to multiple trade unions. As is already the case with the civil servants, who have the Free Trade Union of Zaire. Soon it will be the teachers' turn. What role will be left for the UNTZA?

[Katalay] Why do people establish trade unions? Perhaps because they have passed through a difficult period. We recognize that the trade union has been poorly understood. And so it is that the government employees have organized in order to defend their interests. A trade union is an association of workers for the purpose of seeking well-being. Today, consistent with the concept at the last extraordinary congress, the UNTZA is a union of autonomous federations, of trade guilds. Each trade guild is organized in an autonomous federation. But because there are intervocational problems, the workers

can meet together and discuss the issues related to taxes, production, or development.

Why is there a desire to divide the workers? Do you think the 24 April 1990 message pertained only to the workers' organization, and not to the ANEZA, which is united?

[ELIMA] But the UNTZA was an organ of the MPR [People's Movement for Renewal]...

[Katalay] Indeed, during the Second Republic. Because of the fact that the government interpolated itself, as a national institution, the UNTZA, which was a free merger of unions before the MPR was established, found itself, as things developed chronologically, with the MPR in a politically organized nation. We are not ashamed to admit it. Who was not with the MPR? Everything was the MPR then. As to the federations, the congress demanded that there be more democracy. Elections will be held on all levels. There will be no more appointments.

Let us note that it is the workers themselves who are still there, and since 24 April, the UNTZA has been independent of the regime.

[ELIMA] Can the UNTZA, in full freedom, call for a general labor strike?

[Katalay] Why not? It is a question of maturity, of education. Our mandate is the force born of the cohesion of the workers. We do not want to experience the incidents of 1963 again, wherein the leaders were arrested, while the workers went back to their jobs. There must be strength and discipline so that the slogan is respected, rather than the situation in those certain enterprises where agreement does not exist. The slogan must be "unity, for a disciplined force."

[ELIMA] What is the status of the UNTZA's relations with the SOZABANQUE [Zairian Banking Company] and with the foreign interests?

[Katalay] The SOZABANQUE is on the right path. The UNTZA retains a majority interest, and the other stocks have been purchased by the UNTZA companies.

As to our foreign relations, they are excellent. We maintain good relations with the African, American, and European trade unions. There are cooperation agreements with a view to extending our development programs in the realms of health, staffing, and cooperatives.

[ELIMA] And what message would you send to your members?

[Katalay] "Workers of Zaire, unite!"

Kenya

Envoy to Somalia Leaves on Board U.S. Ship

EA0701223091 Nairobi KTN Television
in English 1800 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] The Kenyan ambassador to Somalia, J. Ole Siparo, is aboard one of the U.S. Navy vessels heading for safety. Siparo, who was yesterday reported to have sought refuge in the American Embassy in Mogadishu at the weekend, has been evacuated and is now on one of the U.S. vessels.

Minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Ndolo Ayah, confirmed to KTN this evening that the American Embassy was kind enough to accommodate Siparo in Mogadishu and later evacuated him to the U.S. Navy vessel which is now heading for Oman from where they [as heard] will be flown home. Ayah also confirmed that all Kenyans in the strife-torn Mogadishu are safe and that arrangements are being made to fly them back home. The minister thanked the American Government for the assistance it gave to her ambassador and other Kenyan nationals.

Somalia

Siad Barre Reportedly Escaped to Abu Dhabi

AU0701191691 Vienna ORF Teletext
in German 1907 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] Abu Dhabi/Mogadishu—Somalia's head of state Siad Barre has fled from Mogadishu to Abu Dhabi and has asked for political asylum in the United Arab Emirates.

At Mogadishu airport more than 200 Somalis stormed two Italian planes, which were supposed to evacuate foreigners. The crews were unable to prevent the storming. According to diplomats, the planes left with 60 foreigners and 200 Somalis.

Thousands of Somalis have gathered at the airport to flee from the raging civil war. Fighting in the center of Mogadishu continues.

Envoy Claims Still in Mogadishu

NC0701220791 Cairo Domestic Service
in Arabic 2100 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] Somali Ambassador in Cairo 'Abdallah Hasan Mahmud [name and title as heard] has stated that Somali President Mohamed Siad Barre is still in Mogadishu. He added that the Somali president made a statement to Mogadishu radio this evening calling on the Somali opposition to come to the negotiating table, not to foment sedition, and to restore calm and peace to Mogadishu.

SNM Calls on People To Cooperate With USC

EA0701193691 (Clandestine) Radio of the Somali
National Movement in Somali 1600 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] Mohamed Siad Barre's whereabouts are unknown. Most of the important areas in Mogadishu are in the hands of the United Somali Congress [USC] and the Somali people. The airport, however, is known to be firmly in the control of Siad's loyalists.

This is a decisive moment. Siad lost authority over Mogadishu some time ago, and for the last two nights Radio Mogadishu has been off the air [words indistinct]. (He had been using) the Somali Security Service Network. All communications have come to a standstill. This indicates the destruction of the Mogadishu regime has suffered.

The Somali National Movement [SNM] now calls on the Somali people who have been fighting for justice. The moment they have been waiting for has come. Extend all possible help and cooperation to the USC combatants. You are seeing before your very eyes the collapse of the fascist regime. Somali Patriotic Movement and USC: Be aware that you bear a heavy responsibility.

We call on the remnants of the Siad Barre soldiers to surrender to the righteous forces. They are assured of their dignity. Your safety is guaranteed if you surrender willingly. (They will not be held accountable for the atrocities committed under the orders) of the collapsed regime. This is the stand of the righteous forces regarding POW's. The SNM, whose [words indistinct]. We wish to call on the Somali people to stand united and guard against divisive elements.

We wish to conclude by saying that the days when Somalis were set against Somalis are gone. The era when Somalis were used to destroy and kill fellow Somalis is also gone. Gone are the days when artillery was used in central regions to destroy and flatten our houses. Brothers, oppression is over.

Opposition Says Victory 'a Matter of Hours'

AB0701185491 Paris AFP in French 1802 GMT
7 Jan 91

[Text] Rome, 7 Jan (AFP)—The Somali opposition is in control of "90 percent of the capital" Mogadishu, and the victory of the forces hostile to President Siad Barre is only "a matter of hours." This was stated this evening in Rome by a representative of the United Somali Congress (USC). According to USC Defense Secretary Elmi Shar-marke, this morning the rebels received reinforcements of "15,000 men from other regions of Somalia" and have launched "the final assault on the headquarters of Siad Barre, that is on the Somali Villa and on the bunker in which the dictator has taken refuge."

"Notwithstanding last minute complications, Barre will be killed or driven away," he added, pointing out that

since yesterday troops of the regular army have started to flee, probably toward the southern part of the country. The USC representative also pointed out that if the Somali president were captured, he would be tried according to the 1960-1969 Constitution and that a provisional government would be set up on the basis of "fundamental human rights. We do not want to be seen as criminals and act like Siad Barre himself," he added.

Mr. Sharmarke stated that he was "in telephone contact" with his movement's troops and other movements of the Somali guerrillas. According to him, these various groups will hold a political meeting in the upcoming days to guarantee "favorable conditions" for national unity.

Also, about 70 Somali nationals, including close aides of Somali President Siad Barre and several ministers, arrived in Abu Dhabi last night on board a Somali aircraft, according to reliable sources at the Abu Dhabi Airport.

USC Rebel, Government Spokesman Interviewed

AB0501123391 London BBC World Service
in English 0730 GMT 5 Jan 91

[From the "Saturdays Only" program; hosted by Robin White]

[Excerpt] [White] [introductory passage omitted] I am joined in the studio by (Suara Mussa), press officer of the Somali Embassy in London, who was in Somalia until the beginning of this week; (Mohamed Robleh), spokesman for the United Somali Congress, the USC; Dr. (Mohameh Salah), a Somali academic; (Mohamed Ahmad Sheikh), a Ph.D. student, who has just returned to England from Somalia; and by (Florence Pax), who is in charge of our Somali Service. Now Robleh, if I can begin with you: Exactly what was the objective of your assault on Mogadishu starting on Sunday; what were you trying to do?

[(Robleh)] Well, the assault was not planned for a long time. It had to be—it was precipitated by the killings of the government of the local population that were being killed by the (?Red Barracks), the military police.

[White] So it was unplanned, this operation?

[(Robleh)] Yes

[White] And you prepared the [word indistinct]?

[(Robleh)] It was—the situation was so bad, we were forced to start.

[White] Now, how much of Mogadishu do you now claim to control?

[(Robleh)] Most of it.

[White] What do you mean, most of it—which districts?

[(Robleh)] Most of the district is—according to the latest information that we have, the USC forces are just at the

port, on one side; at the (Unishaf) Hospital of the (Anziloti) Road; and at Kilometer Four. They were earlier nearer to the airport and the bunker of Siad Barre, but he had been using artillery and heavy tanks and even sometimes missiles, which were falling in parts that were very far from where the USC forces—the frontline of the USC forces.

[White] It sounds like you are admitting you are being driven back a bit?

[(Robleh)] Well, of course, in a situation like this, the front is always fluid.

[White] (Suara Mussa) from the Somali Embassy here in London, I think you would dispute the claim that they control most of the capital.

[(Mussa)] Yes, I have to contradict here, because they do not control anything at all. And I tell you this from the fact that I was there and I know what is going on, and it is unfortunate that Mr. (Robleh) in London should tell you what is happening when I know it better.

[White] So how much do the rebels control?

[(Mussa)] They do not control anything. The only thing that happened was that there was a group of armed men who started shooting innocent people and have infiltrated in two districts of the capital. Then the security forces had to move in and stop them. I therefore reject totally everything that Mr. (Robleh) has to say here.

[White] But it's not just him that says it, a lot of diplomats are saying that the rebels do control a portion of the capital—we're not quite sure how much, but that's what they're saying.

[(Mussa)] I tell you that the diplomats are not better informed than I am. It is true that they may hear things here and there. It's also true that they use their local contacts, but this is nearly always one-sided.

[White] Now, (Mohamed Ahmad Sheikh), you were in Mogadishu this week. How much of the capital do you think the USC controls?

[(Sheikh)] Well, the fighting has (?spread) in the central part of Mogadishu, and the USC forces have fought in Wardhigley and in Yaaqshiid and then they expanded into other areas of the town, other parts of the town. But it seems now that the government has called reinforcements from outside and are gaining the upper hand by pinning down these USC forces in (?certain) neighborhoods.

[White] How many USC people, according to you, were actually involved in the fighting on Sunday?

[(Sheikh)] Well, that's very difficult to say because people say the actual military forces, the USC forces who have infiltrated into Mogadishu, were not many, but they have managed [word indistinct] in these districts where they have fought against the government.

[White] Do you think the rebels are going to lose this bout of fighting?

[(Sheikh)] Militarily they may be pinned down and get out of Mogadishu if they don't get reinforcements very soon.

[White] Are they getting reinforcements, (Robleh)?

[(Robleh)] Yes, because most of our forces were not really near the city. A month ago they were about 30 miles from Mogadishu, but the military headquarters of the USC is farther back, and since this was not a preplanned offensive, you would expect that they would rush forces fairly quickly, and we have information that they have already started.

[White] Florence, you've been watching the events this week and hearing all these conflicting claims. Who would you guess has overall control at the moment in Mogadishu?

[(Pax)] Well I think yesterday, today, and tomorrow are fairly decisive for who will have control, because if reinforcements don't arrive, I imagine that the government forces, who are armed with heavy artillery and with tanks, are bound to be able to suppress an uprising in certain districts which are armed lightly and, as far as we can tell, have no military leader of any standing with them. However, if [word indistinct] the guerrillas, the urban guerrillas can keep on fighting for a few more days—say, another five or six days, which makes more than a week—then I would have thought it was possible, if the army is really being called back to Mogadishu—and I have heard stories that the (Gowern) for instance has had its garrison recalled.

[White] What is the (Gowern)?

[(Pax)] That is a good distance inland from Mogadishu to the south.

[White] And those troops, you are saying, have been recalled?

[(Pax)] That is what I have been hearing. Now, if troops are either coming back in an organized way to defend Mogadishu, or are being told to find their own way back to defend Mogadishu, or perhaps deciding that it's time they went home, if Mogadishu is home, then it is possible for reinforcements—and perhaps not USC, perhaps other rebel groups—to decide this is the time to join up in Mogadishu. But this takes a long time. For instance, if the SNM [Somali National Movement] were interested in Mogadishu, they're a thousand miles away. How they would arrive in time to support a small band of fighters, I can't imagine. I doubt they would.

[White] Can I just ask you, before we move on to talk about other movements in the country, about the level of support, if any, being given to the USC—popular support to the USC—by ordinary civilians in Mogadishu? Were they supporting this revolt in the capital, or not?

[(Sheikh)] Well the opposition again has... Siad Barre has been taking [word indistinct] and for the last two months he has taken a clan [word indistinct] and he has tried to call the support of all the (barons) against the Hawiye, who support...

[White, interrupting] The USC is basically—yes?

[(Sheikh)] ...who basically support the Hawiye. The USC is not short of manpower in Mogadishu. But the decisive things—they are short of armaments, and as [words indistinct] and I think they haven't (?looked for) armaments and ammunition in Mogadishu at the time when the fighting started. [passage omitted]

Cabinet, Elders Meet To Discuss Situation

EA070122291 Mogadishu Domestic Service
in Somali 1700 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] Somali Prime Minister Comrade Mohamed Hawadle Madar, Comrade Dr. Abdiqasim Salad Hassan, deputy prime minister and minister of internal affairs, Dr. Abdisalam Sheikh Hussein, minister of agriculture, Comrade Abukar Hassan Weheliye, minister of posts and communications, Comrade Abdullahi Mohamoud Hiraad, minister of transport, Comrade Mohamed Hashi Gani, deputy minister of internal affairs, Brigadier General Abdirahman Abdi Hussein, commander of the Somali Police Force, and Ahmad Jilicow Adow, mayor of Mogadishu, met on 5 January with the following Somali elders: Ugas Yasin Abdirahman, Sultan Abdi Abdirahman Sheikh Mahmud, Ahmad Rageh Abdi, Ali Jidow Abdi, Mohamed Hashi Barrow, Haji Ibrahim Uthman, Abdullahi Sabriyeh Gacal, Haji Musa Boqorey, Abukar Uthman Sigow, Sheikh Ibrahim Tulow, Mohamed Ahmad Abdullah, Abukar Umar Shegow, Mireh Olad, Hashi Weheliyow, Hasan Hashi Shegow, Sheikh Mohamed Mahmoud Shegow, and Ali Sheikh Dirgey. The meeting was a follow-up to the previous one aimed at finding peace and bringing about a cease-fire in Mogadishu.

The participants held identical views on the agenda. There was agreement on the need for quickly restoring social amenities such as health care and water and electricity supplies. It was also agreed to form a common front in the fight against the troublemakers who were constantly terrorizing the public and our guests such as diplomats and foreigners. The participants and the government appeal to Mogadishu residents to stay at home, and to those who ran away, to return and help ensure the restoration of stability and security.

The meeting formed a committee of elders which will work in cooperation with the government in accordance with the issues discussed. The committee will tour, both on foot and by car, areas deemed important for the cease-fire. The government and elders call on the public to give their full support in ensuring a total cease-fire and hence the restoration of stability to the city.

The report adds that friendly countries are committed to providing us with emergency food and medical aid, fuel, and other things, noting that the government would await these essentials with all due readiness to receive them at the airport and Mogadishu seaport.

Evacuation Flights, Heavy Fighting Continues

French Envoy, Others Leave

LD0801111191 Paris Domestic Service
in French 1000 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Text] French Ambassador to Somalia Charles Crettien, who has just been evacuated along with 10 other French citizens by naval commandos, confirms the fierceness of the fighting and the great confusion which reigns in Mogadishu. The shots come from unexpected places at equally unforeseeable enemies, he says. Forty-seven foreign citizens were evacuated this morning to the Jules Verne [French repair ship] in an operation which took place about 100 km south of Mogadishu.

Flights Postponed

AB0801124791 Paris AFP in English 1242 GMT
8 Jan 91

[By David Chazan]

[Text] Nairobi, Jan 8 (AFP)—Fierce fighting in the Somali capital forced Italy to postpone rescue flights Tuesday as armed looters terrorised the few remaining residents, desperately short of food and water. After 10 days of fighting between rebels of the United Somali Congress (USC) and government troops, Mogadishu is "a ghost town, deserted by two-thirds of its people and given over to looters," said Abudallahi Daib, a Somali businessman who arrived in Kenya aboard an Italian plane Monday. "Nobody controls anything in Mogadishu anymore," he said. "Whoever has a gun defends his own house against marauding bands of armed looters."

An Italian Embassy spokesman in Nairobi said flights by two Italian C130 transport planes which evacuated 248 people on Monday had been called off Tuesday because of heavy fighting. "The situation is worse than yesterday," he said. But a French Navy ship off the Somali coast managed to take aboard 47 foreigners, diplomatic sources said.

Mr. Daib said the Presidential Guard, the Red Berets, were shelling USC-held areas of the city from a stronghold at President Mohamed Siad Barre's house, near the airport. The USC said in a communique issued in Rome late Monday that its fighters were closing in on the beleaguered president and that victory was only hours away. But Mr. Daib said the rebels, mostly teenagers, were badly organized and seemed to have no overall strategy, making guerrilla strikes in different parts of the city.

He cast doubt on the reliability of rebel claims from Rome, questioning how they obtained their information. "But Siad Barre's men control only a small area, including the airport." Major-General Siad Barre was probably still in Mogadishu, he said, dismissing rumours that he had fled to Abu Dhabi aboard the last Somali Airlines flight out of the capital on Sunday. "Many of his relatives and members of his Marehan clan have fled to Abu Dhabi or to Kenya on the Italian planes, but not Siad Barre," Mr. Daib said.

Mr. Daib said looters had ransacked the U.S. Embassy and offices of the European Community, now deserted as most foreigners have fled Mogadishu, as well as the offices of the Amoco and Comoco companies. He said the troops seemed to spend more time looting than fighting the rebels. The roads going west from Mogadishu towards the Ethiopian border are full of families, fleeing on foot, carrying plastic bags and suitcases," he said. "It's a war between the Hawiye, which back the USC, and Siad Barre's Marehan clan."

He estimated the number of rebels at less than a thousand, fighting the Red Berets, made up of Marehan, which he said was believed to number between 5,000 and 10,000. The rebels have no heavy weapons, he said, though some have bazookas. He said many government soldiers had fled south, looting and pillaging as they went.

"There are between 100 and 150 rotting corpses lying on the streets, including bodies of small children, women and old people," Mr. Daib said. "Residents have burned many bodies to stop disease, but you can't go to parts of the city where there is fighting and artillery fire. "There's no water in many parts of Mogadishu, and little food. Many people stocked up with spaghetti or rice when the fighting started, but they have no meat or vegetables. There's no electricity, and no shops are open. If they don't get help from outside, it will be terrible," he said. Cholera has reportedly broken out 30 kilometres (18 miles) from Mogadishu, he said.

Mr. Daib described how Maj.-Gen. Siad Barre allegedly had two members of the opposition movement Manifesto killed as they tried to arrange a ceasefire. Seven members of the group, which includes prominent Somalis, former government ministers and members of different clans, went to see the president last week, begging him to stop fighting. He said he would observe a ceasefire if they obtained the agreement of the rebels.

Police Commander Abdirahaman gave them a radio, and asked them to radio him after they had contacted the rebels.

On Saturday they made contact with the USC, and duly radioed back to the president's aides. Minutes later, a rocket hit the house where they were holding talks with USC officials, killing Haji Musse Bogor, a former interior minister, and Hashi Weheleye. Two others were seriously wounded.

ANC To Play 'Hardball' With Government

MB0801082591 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0811 GMT 8 Jan 91

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 8 SAPA—The ANC [African National Congress] on Monday announced that it would play hardball with the De Klerk government, threatening to call off talks-about-talks if certain agreements were not met by April 30 this year, instituting a programme of mass action to "transfer power to the people" and undercutting the authorities by calling for an all-party congress of anti-apartheid forces.

The strong message came in a "state of the nation" address delivered by ANC Deputy President Nelson Mandela against the backdrop of a large ANC flag at the organisation's headquarters in Johannesburg.

The address, timed to commemorate the 79th anniversary of the ANC, was earlier introduced to the media by ANC President Oliver Tambo.

In his address, Mr. Mandela, reflecting the position adopted by the recent national consultative conference, said his organisation and the government had agreed on specific steps and a timetable concerning the removal of obstacles to full negotiations.

The government, he warned, must fully implement the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes, failing which the ANC would be forced to review its position on April 30 this year.

"The government will, therefore, have to take full responsibility for any delay to the constitutional negotiations caused by its failure to implement the Groote Schuur and Pretoria minutes," said Mr. Mandela.

For its part, the ANC would use all the means at its disposal to stick to the minutes because of their relevance to an early start of the process of serious negotiations.

The ANC, he charged, was unequivocal about its commitment to a constituent assembly, which would draw up a new constitution.

"We advocate the election of a sovereign constituent assembly, vested with full powers to negotiate and adopt a constitution that will be acceptable to the millions of our people who would have elected the members of the assembly," Mr. Mandela said.

The ANC also did not want an easing of economic sanctions.

"The international community should continue to exert pressure for the speedy transformation of South Africa through the application of various sanctions."

Mr. Mandela, however, said they were currently holding discussions with all "democratic forces" to establish a coherent policy on the issue. This would enable them to

advise the international community on sanctions to "ensure the continued isolation of those who remain committed to apartheid".

This would also entail asking for further support for internal anti-apartheid forces and such other interventions that would uplift "the dispossessed majority".

Dealing with the various homelands, the ANC, Mr. Mandela said, issued a strong call to those administrations to desist from hostile actions against the organisation and other democratic structures. This was apparently aimed at Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope whose administration has harassed ANC-aligned individuals and organisations based in the homeland.

"They (homeland administrations) should normalise their relations with people within their areas, help create the situation where there is free and peaceful expression of political views and co-operate with the democratic movement as a whole in the effort to shape the future of our country.

"None of these homelands, and specifically those described as independent, should be holding political prisoners and detainees, banning meetings and governing by imposing states of emergency and in the context of anti-democratic security legislation," he said.

The ANC further repeated its call for political tolerance.

"The movement will take all necessary disciplinary measures against anybody from our ranks who resorts to these unacceptable methods."

ANC-PAC Fighting in Munsieville, One Dead

MB0801054991 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0127 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Text] Johannesburg Jan 7 SAPA—An ANC [African National Congress] member was killed and four PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] member's homes were burnt down in political fighting in Munsieville amid renewed PAC accusations that ANC supporters in the West Rand township were attacking their members and had driven over 70 PAC supporters from the township.

According to West Rand police spokesman, Capt. Henriette Bester, Mr. Joseph Chief Tonto Kole, 22, had been gunned down at 1.15 AM on Monday when ANC and PAC groups clashed.

It was later established Mr. Kole was an ANC youth league member.

West Rand PAC publicity secretary, Mr. Basner Ngecha, said ANC members had set-up roadblocks in the township, and had burned down four PAC supporters houses while police allegedly stood by on Monday.

Police spokesman, Capt. Piet van Deventer said on Monday night that police had arrived at the scene of four different fires at homes in Munsieville and were investigating. He

denied police complacency, calling for witnesses of the incidents to come forward and report to police.

Mr. Ngceba last week alleged the entire Munsieville PAC leadership and other members had been chased from the township by ANC members who had waged attacks on PAC supporters in Munsieville since March last year.

The ANC responded by saying this was untrue adding that the PAC had constantly "cold shouldered" attempts by the ANC to hold peace talks in Munsieville.

Mr. Ngceba said PAC members in Munsieville had telephoned him on Monday night telling him of the day's attacks adding That a tyre doused in petrol had been left outside one house.

"The people are in gross fear of their lives," he said.

He said a large group of ANC supporters had gathered outside one PAC member's house late Monday night and were singing anti-PAC slogans and "hurling abuse at Comrade Mike Matsobane who is a member of the PAC's National Executive Committee and lives in nearby Kagiso."

He added he had telephone the ANC head office in Johannesburg on Monday to explain the situation but had not received any response by late Monday night.

Munsieville 'Quiet'

MB0801093191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0734 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Text] Krugersdorp Jan 8 SAPA—Police confirmed the situation in Munsieville, Krugersdorp was quiet on Tuesday [8 Jan] morning, after an ANC [African National Congress] member was killed and four PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] homes were gutted in political clashes on Monday [7 Jan].

Police liaison officer Capt. Henriette Bester said no further incidents of violence were reported in the township on Monday night.

This follows the gunning-down of ANC Youth League member Joseph Chief Tonto Kole, 22, during ANC/PAC fighting on Monday, and the burning-down of four PAC homes, allegedly by ANC supporters.

West Rand PAC Publicity Secretary Basner Ngceba earlier alleged police stood by while the ANC burned down the houses.

Police spokesman Capt. Piet van Deventer denied the claim and called for witnesses to come forward and report to police.

The PAC claims its entire Munsieville leadership has been chased out of the township by ANC members, following alleged ANC attacks on PAC supporters since March last year.

The ANC has denied this, claiming the PAC has constantly "cold shouldered" its attempts to create peace in Munsieville.

Optimism Seen on Government-ANC Compromise

MB0401112491 Johannesburg THE CITIZEN
in English 3 Jan 91 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Political Analysts Confident Over Talks"]

[Text] Top political analysts are confident that 1991 will see constructive constitutional negotiations getting into top gear, at least by the end of the year.

They also agreed with veteran political scientist Professor Willem Kelyahans that the role of the main player opposite the government the African National Congress [ANC], is being non-productive by dragging its heels in setting up a competent, smoothly-operating party political machine.

In Pretoria yesterday, UNISA [University of South Africa] constitutional law academic, Professor Marinus Wiechers, commented: "We find ourselves now in a classic bad news-good news scenario, with the bad news the certainty that we can expect ongoing and probably escalating street action, with the ANC backing rallies in an effort to secure grassroots Black support."

He added: "But the good news is that momentum is starting to pick up on the road towards real talks; and that the government is clearly committed to getting them properly going."

From Cape Town, Professor David Welsh, head of South African Studies at UCT [University of Cape Town], said he foresaw that talks would get off the ground by year's end.

But, he added, "the real fly in the ointment now is the ongoing demonstrations and mass violence—and if this reaches peak they could derail the whole negotiation process.

"And if that happens, we could find ourselves with a Lebanon type situation on our hands possibly for years to come."

However, he said, he was optimistic that the government and the ANC at least would achieve some sort of compromise which would enable the negotiation initiative to go ahead.

He said that "with luck" Christmas 1991 should see genuine negotiations well under way—but, he stressed, "I say, with luck because there are still a number of hassles that just have to be overcome."

With Prof. Wiechers and Prof. Kleynhans, he agreed that it was imperative that the ANC get a proper party political organisation into action—"and if it doesn't, and doesn't actively end the violence, we could see ourselves back at square one."

He believed that State President De Klerk had some shrewd moves up his sleeves—"I think he is keeping his powder dry."

Teachers, Students Urged To Return to Schools

MB0401153991 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in Afrikaans 1400 GMT 4 Jan 91

[Text] Three organizations affiliated with the African National Congress have called on teachers and students to return to school on the reopening date determined by the Department of Education and Training.

The call was made in a joint statement of the National Education Coordination Committee, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, and the South African Democratic Teachers' Union.

Spokesmen for the organizations said the fact that schools reopen on different dates in the various provinces is a problem which will affect school attendance initially.

Crime-Political 'Zealotry' Link Examined

MB0401102191 Johannesburg THE STAR
in English 4 Jan 91 p 8

[Article by Patrick Laurence in the "Opinion" column:
"The Low Road to Lawlessness"]

[Text] Economist Azar Jammie, lamenting the continuing civil strife in South Africa, warns of possible "anarchy and chaos" and resultant economic decline. His warning comes in the wake of sombre statements on the spiralling rate of violent crime by the Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, and the Police Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe.

Murder has risen dramatically: last year nearly 12,850 people were slain, a rise of 25 percent over the figure of 1989. The increase was in spite of the high success rate of the police in tracking down the killers where the victims were white, observes General van der Merwe.

Mr. Vlok is particularly perturbed by the proliferation of unlicensed arms and the use of sophisticated weapons, notably AK-47 rifles, by criminals.

General van der Merwe is especially concerned by the rising number of attacks on policemen.

The Institute of Race Relations notes in a special publication that 10 people a day died in political violence last year, nearly twice as high as the rate for 1985, the year in which President P.W. Botha, faced with an incipient insurrection, imposed a state of emergency over large tracts of South Africa.

Criminal and political violence seem to merge in the minds of Mr. Vlok and General van der Merwe. They speak as though they are part of essentially the same phenomenon. They may be partly right.

In the black townships the boundary between "straight" and political crime is porous and indistinct. Criminals sometimes masquerade as "comrades", either to give their actions a respectable camouflage or to dupe the public. Activists of all persuasions, nurtured in a climate

of political intolerance and driven by zealotry, sometimes behave like common criminals.

There are unsubstantiated suspicions in some quarters that cadres of the African National Congress [ANC] are behind some of the robberies in which AK-47 rifles are used. Their motive, it is alleged, is to collect funds for the ANC or, more cynically, to enrich themselves.

The accusations are given a sophisticated gloss by the South African correspondent for JANE's DEFENCE WEEKLY, Helmoed-Romer Heitman. The ANC emphatically rejects them.

Some observers, including insurance company pundits, however, detect a political dimension to robberies and burglaries. They reckon these crimes are a form of wealth redistribution in which the poor take from the rich.

The disintegration of the once solid line between orthodox crime and political crime began decades ago. Mr. de Klerk's predecessors, from Hendrik Verwoerd to P.W. Botha, are to blame in large measure.

In a vain attempt to stem the tide, they criminalised a major proportion of black political life, making mere membership of prohibited nationalist movements a prisonable offence. What Mr. Verwoerd and Mr. Botha established over 30 years, Mr. de Klerk cannot undo in a year.

An underlying generator of the endemic violence is what human rights lawyer Nicholas Haysom has characterised as the "low-intensity conflict" the struggle for control of the townships between rival forces.

The conflict has not abated since the unbanning last February of the ANC, its ally, the South African Communist Party, and its rival, the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC]. Nor has it receded since the ANC and the SACP undertook to suspend their "armed struggle" in August last year.

On the contrary, it has intensified, reaching shocking levels of death and destruction in townships around Johannesburg from August to December last year.

An Institute of Race Relations special report chronicles and analyses a "hidden" dimension of the conflict in the black townships: the undeclared war against policemen and township councillors.

The institute contends that these attacks have been under-reported, quoting figures to show that between January and July last year Johannesburg's main newspapers reported only 38 percent of the attacks between them. The reports were often inconspicuous, it adds.

In the first 11 months of last year, 85 policemen were killed, 59 of whom were on duty and 26 off duty, it says. During the first seven months of last year, more than 110 attacks were mounted against township councillors, the special report says. The murder of six councillors was reported in the press, although 14 were killed according to official records, the institute notes.

Combatants of the hardline PAC—which has vowed to intensify rather than suspend its “armed struggle”—were responsible for only a small proportion of these attacks, the report says.

It points an accusing finger at the ANC and ANC-aligned organisations, arguing that they are primarily responsible. It cites earlier ANC exhortations to make the townships ungovernable and quotes contemporary statements by the ANC-aligned organisation Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal committing itself to bringing about the collapse of black town councils.

Mr. Haysom, however, offers another perspective: the alleged use by the state of surrogate forces, “vigilantes”, to disrupt anti-apartheid movements and terrorise their supporters.

These vigilante forces, known variously as the Phakatis [nucleus], the Amabutho [warriors], the Mbhokoto [grinding stone], the Ama-Afrika [the Africans], the Wit-doeke [white scarves] and, more recently, the Rooidoeke [red scarves] are led by “functionaries” in state approved structures, chiefs in the tribal homelands and councillors and/or policemen in the townships, Mr. Haysom says.

In its appraisal of the violence that has swept townships around Johannesburg, the ANC comes to a similar conclusion. It talks of a sinister “Third Force”, with links to the security forces, orchestrating the violence in a bid to weaken the ANC by demonstrating its inability to protect its supporters.

In that context Mr. Vlok’s moves to increase the police force by an extra 10,000 men will not be seen in ANC circles as a bona fide crime-fighting exercise but rather as a political “iron fist” designed to crack ANC skulls.

Predictably his call on the ANC to assist the police in curbing the inflow of AK-47 rifles from neighbouring countries has been flatly rejected as a propaganda ploy to blame the ANC for the escalating violence.

Talks To Depend on Business Sectors’ Role

*MB0401100791 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 4 Jan 91 p 2*

[Report by Patrick Bulger: “Wimpie de Klerk: Talks Hinge on Business Sector”]

[Text] Any advance SA [South Africa] makes towards democracy this year depends largely on the business community and the steps it takes to improve the quality of life on the black masses, says political commentator Wimpie de Klerk.

Tangible improvements in housing, education, rates of pay and quality of education would permit black leaders to bargain with their followers, among whom they now had little influence, De Klerk wrote in his outlook for 1991 in *FINANCE WEEK*.

“Political success in SA is not only interwoven with economic success: it is 100 percent dependent on economic

success... Blacks must enjoy economic space before they will support and legitimise the negotiation process.”

Economic improvement had to be made tangible in the form of reduced unemployment, large-scale training, the beginning of a new education system, quick housing schemes, improved health services and an increase in the quality of life and infrastructure in the townships.

“It stands to reason that all this will not be within reach of the black people in the short term. The goal should, however, be to let them have at least 50 percent thereof in 1991.”

If this did not occur, De Klerk foresaw negotiations reaching a dead end; increased political radicalisation and polarisation; confrontation; a “full-scale revolutionary attack” which could precipitate a military regime; and severe foreign isolation.

This would delay negotiations until the end of 1992, with all the attendant damage that would take place in that period.

A rapid pace of negotiation, however, would see pre-negotiations finalised towards April this year, the establishment of an official negotiation forum towards June; a statement of intent on an economic system and a new constitution by the end of the year, final agreements in 1992 and 1993; and a referendum on the new system during 1994.

The political actors would primarily be responsible for a transitional government and an election for a legislative assembly, De Klerk wrote.

The business sector would need to play a vital and parallel upliftment role.

Writing in the same edition, SA ambassador-designate to Washington Harry Schwarz said black expectations were high and were “exercising tremendous pressure on the fabric of society.”

“Perhaps the greatest challenge to SA in the next few years will be the ability to introduce elements of realism in respect of the capacity to deal with wealth, income and skill gaps, and to bring about an acceptance of realistic timetables for economic change”.

Township on ‘Verge of Full-Scale Anarchy’

*MB0401142991 Johannesburg CITY PRESS
in English 30 Dec 90 p 1*

[Report by S’Bu Mngandi: “Upmarket Suburb Cringes in Fear as Gangsters Take Over”]

[Text] KwaMashu’s upmarket Newlands Heights is on the verge of full-scale anarchy.

Here people buy bread and milk from behind bars, keep their curtains drawn and doors locked, even sleep behind bars sometimes sandwiched between mattresses they hope will stop stray bullets.

This posh extension of KwaMashu's K-section, which boasts homes valued between R[and]100,000 and R200,000, is under siege by a notorious gang called Amasinyora (Zulu for seniors)—armed with automatic rifles and home-made zip guns.

A note pushed underneath the door of one of the houses coldly demanded R500 protection money ... or else "siyabuya" (we'll be back).

A delegation of six Newlands Heights residents last week met police regional commissioner General Ignatius Coetzee and other high-ranking officers of the SAP [South African Police] and the KwaZulu Police to plead for protection. The residents submitted to the police names of 70 gang members.

In K-section, the gang is accused of having killed more than 100 people in the past three years, including a five-month-old baby leaving a birthday party in his mother's arms, a standard one girl whose body was riddled with bullets because her brother refused to join the gang and was labelled a comrade, and a callous attack on the vigil of a 21-year-old victim of their's [as published].

The gangsters call such victims mushrooms—people who just pop-up in the wrong place at the wrong time.

They loot homes and make off with all movable property. They have also allegedly taken steps to "sell" houses abandoned by terrified homeowners.

Rows of houses in Nkonjane Road are either empty, vandalised or reduced to burnt-out shells. Five bodies were discovered here recently.

The notorious thugs have allegedly promised nearby Richmond Farm squatters TV sets, videos, furniture, radios and other loot at less than a quarter of the original prices.

Following a meeting with the delegation, Coetzee said it was decided to re-introduce a Casspir street patrol.

He had also had discussions with KwaZulu police commissioner Brigadier Jac Buchner, as "the KwaZulu Police is primarily responsible for the investigation of crime in KwaMashu."

8 Jan Press Review on Current Issues, Problems MB0801115991

[Editorial report]

THE CITIZEN

Support for 'Quick War' Against Iraq—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 7 January in a page 6 editorial says the United States is "increasingly apprehensive of going to war in the Gulf." There is "growing opposition" to American lives being "sacrificed" to oust Saddam Husayn. "President Bush's future will depend on the outcome—a quick victory with relatively few casualties will enhance his prestige; a long drawn-out conflict with heavy U.S. casualties will destroy it." "Although the war will be devastating, a

false peace will be even worse, since Saddam will be able to build up his forces and arm them with the atomic bomb for new aggression once the allied forces quit the region. On balance, a quick war, if it can be achieved, would be better than a phony peace."

All-Party Conference Welcome—"If, as is expected, the ANC this week comes out in favour of a no-strings-attached all-party conference on constitutional negotiations, it is the best year-warming present we could hope for," claims a page 14 editorial in Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 8 January. Such a conference would "extend the process beyond the two major protagonists, the Government and the ANC [African National Congress]." It would also "signal that the places at the negotiating table are beginning to be set. For this reason it is to be hoped that both the Government and the ANC will resist the temptatopn to claim the 'all-in' idea as exclusively their own, and thereby bedevil its prospects of taking place timeously and smoothly."

BUSINESS DAY

Agricultural Sector Fights off Black Trade Unionism—South Africa's agricultural sector is "now fighting a last-ditch battle to ward off" "black trade unionism," notes Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 8 January in a page 6 editorial. The South African Agricultural Union shows a "paternalism that could well push farmworkers into the arms of militant unions." The Agricultural Union is also under the "misconception" that "banning strikes and unionisation prevents them happening." Unionization is "now slowly but surely entering the world of agriculture."

SOWETAN

Black Homeland 'Disappoints its People'—The "bells have been tolling" for Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope, says the page 6 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 8 January. The "lesson for black leaders is that they are unable to develop their people and their countries. The sooner this truth is spelt out and accepted, the better. We make bold to state that the Bophuthatswana government is not the only black state or organisation that disappoints its people."

CITY PRESS

Black United Front Idea Hits 'Snag'—The prospect of a united front of liberation movements mooted recently by the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and the Azanian People's Organization (Azapo) "has hit a snag before the idea even got off the ground," notes a page 8 editorial in Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 6 January. "Accusations and counter-accusations of political intolerance and violence by the PAC and ANC this week are likely to cause more division and resentment." Therefore, "it is quite clear that while leadership is talking unity and a possible patriotic front, the message has not filtered down to grassroots level. We believe there will be no peace and no bright future for all of us until the people on the ground understand and believe in their leaders."

Angola

UNITA Reportedly Captures Munhango Town

LD0701234891 Lisbon Domestic Service
in Portuguese 2300 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] has occupied the town of Munhango in Bie Province, an Angolan military source has said. According to the source, the rebels have increased their combat activities since the second half of December. They are supported by South Africa. Hercules C-130 planes are unloading war materiel in Jamba and Lioua daily, the same source said.

Bomb Blast in Luanda City Wounds Four

MB0801075291 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Text] The bomb which exploded in Luanda yesterday near (Balesao) bus station wounded four people, three of whom were children. Our reporter who visited the area learned that the bomb was placed in the Rei dos Frigirificos [King of the Refrigerators] building situated in (Balesao) Square near the Continental Hotel.

This is the second bomb blast in Luanda city. A bomb exploded on 27 December 1990 at the 4 February International Airport, wounding three people.

Defense Minister Reports Secret Meeting

MB0401203091 Luanda ANGOP in French
2001 GMT 4 Jan 91

[Text] Namibe, 4 Jan (ANGOP)—Colonel General Pedro Maria Tonha, defense minister of the People's Republic of Angola, reported in southwestern Namibe Province on 3 January that a secret meeting between the United States, South African conservatives, and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] had been held in Johannesburg to discuss destabilization against our country.

Speaking at the opening of the year of political and combat preparedness for the FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola] forces, Defense Minister Pedro Maria Tonha noted that combat preparedness was necessary "because of intensified terrorist operations by the UNITA rebels and the destruction of social and economic infrastructure."

Defense Minister Col. Gen. Tonha concluded by saying that UNITA's arrogant behavior compromises the Angolan Government's efforts. Our government has spoken in favor of introducing democratic pluralism and restoring peace, he noted.

Government To Return 'Confiscated' Property

MB0401114291 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0600 GMT 4 Jan 91

[Text] All citizens who have never left the People's Republic of Angola and who feel entitled to repossess any immovable assets confiscated by the Angolan state, ought to submit their claims to the Secretariat of State for Town Planning, Housing, and Water Affairs within 45 days as of 28 December 1990.

In a communique issued in Luanda yesterday, the Secretariat of State for Town Planning, Housing, and Water Affairs states that the measure affects heirs of deceased foreigners or nationals whose immovable assets were confiscated.

The communique adds that once the limit expires, the Secretariat of State for Town Planning, Housing, and Water Affairs will not be held responsible for late claims. It adds that the government will soon issue an order providing for the sale of some of its immovable assets.

KUP Commentary Greets, Forecasts New Year

MB0601070091 (Clandestine) KUP in English
to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 6 Jan 91

[Commentary: "We Have Reached 1991"]

[Text] We enter 1991 united and determined in order to continue the great journey toward the liberation of all Angolans.

We have reached 1991 because UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] wisely led by our beloved president, Dr. Jonas Savimbi, had protected, cared for and indicated us the way to follow in order to build a free, dignified and truly democratic and embracing nation.

Our glorious movement has always fought for the sacred cause of Angola and will continue the struggle until the Angolan people are respected and are able to decide the destiny of their own country.

Without an instrument of struggle with long experience, we could not have managed even in the least to oppose the colossal war machine of neo-colonialism in Angola.

UNITA is here, safe and sound, and we are going to win because we represent the people of Angola who deserve victory.

Against all odds, our party stood united and combative because we have a correct policy and a leader apt to the historic dimensions of our time and with great political, diplomatic and military intellectual capacity to lead us to safe port.

Angolans are certain that they will achieve national reconciliation through free and fair internationally supervised multiparty elections in order to choose a

government that will really guarantee national independence, honor, dignity, progress and Angolan identity.

Plundering in Angola by foreign exploiters, who even boast to come and destroy the national patrimony with the direct collaboration of the puppet Luanda regime, has to come to an end.

Angola is, first and foremost, for Angolans, and the country's wealth is, first and foremost, for Angolans. Only in total freedom and real independence, with a democratic government, will international cooperation agreements be signed on a fair basis with other countries to allow the development of our country.

The Angolan identity which safeguards that we continue being Angolans, and only Angolans, should always be defended.

We have reached 1991 and we are going to continue the great journey so that we can elect Dr. Jonas Savimbi as the president of Angola. In this way, Angola will be saved.

Blessed is the day when Angolans took up arms to save the nation.

***Dos Santos Inaugurates Mussulo Social Complex**

91AF0365A Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 13 Nov 90 p 3

[Text of speech made by President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, followed by appraisal of projects by reporter Joao Pokongo]

[Text] The president of the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party] and of the People's Republic of Angola delivered the following speech this past Saturday [11 November] on the occasion of the inauguration of a social complex in the commune of Mussulo, in Luanda:

"Dear comrades, inhabitants of the commune of Mussulo, we visited this commune at the beginning of this year. My comrade the municipal commissar reminds me that it was in the month of March. At that time, the local authorities and the people presented various problems. One of them was the lack of any decent stores, the lack of a good school, the lack of a good medical facility, lack of transportation, the lack of water, and the lack of a bakery.

"We said that we would mobilize the appropriate structures to study all these problems and find solutions. In fact, at that time, some structures had already been mobilized and had ideas and projects to carry out in the commune of Mussulo, with the goal of solving some of those problems.

"Fortunately, we met with good understanding from all the people of good will who work both in Angolan companies and foreign companies, and from governmental authorities, and it was possible, within a very short time period, to accomplish good work.

"We have a bakery now that can make 30,000 loaves of bread per day. We have a medical facility, we have a school with one classroom, but that school is certainly

going to grow, a store is going to be built within a short time, and in the talks that I have held with officials from Tecnocarro company, I have been informed that a study has been done on a little project for the construction of water tanks that will make it possible to take advantage of the underground water here and distribute it through public water fountains so that the people will have easy access to that water and under good conditions.

"It is a great satisfaction for me to be here in the commune of Mussulo on 10 November, therefore on the eve of 11 November 1990, which will mark the 15th anniversary of the proclamation of our nation's independence. On this date, we undertook a task that was small in dimensions, but very big in significance, in the measure in which it marks an intention to solve the problems of the people, to solve the basic problems.

"The model of social structure created by the comrades of the commune of Mussulo, along with the officials of the companies with whom they are working, can be duplicated, because, as we have been informed, maintenance of the structures is assured. That is, personnel is being prepared so that everything that has been built here can be well maintained and well administered for a long time. This means that the bakery will have good bakers. They are being trained, we have already found some to put to work. The medical facility will have qualified personnel. The Ministry of Health will certainly take care of all the aspects related to their training, etc.

"In addition to that, the commune needs to have good administrators. Planning is also going on to build facilities where the commune's administrators will work—the Communal Commissar, the employees of the Commissariat, and all other administrative services necessary for the management and monitoring of life in this commune. I think that we have taken a very important step in this commune, and the very near future will show that the living conditions of our people here, in this commune, will improve. For example, during our visit, the idea of energizing build-it-yourself construction projects was proposed. This means that, from now on, there is a large area of land that can be used so that each person who wants to can build his own dwelling, in an organized, structured way, thus improving the housing conditions that he now has.

"The officials of the companies who are here in this room and who are working on this project say that, within a short time, this project can get off the ground. All that is needed is authorization from the Commissariat. They can mobilize the materials, plan small projects, and anyone who has some financial capability can build his own house, and thus improve his conditions, within the rules that will be established by the company's architects, the Communal Commissariat and the Municipal and Provincial Commissariat.

"In conclusion, I want to say that we are going to have more fish because there is finally a project to support small fishermen. We are going to have bread, and we are going to have water. There is already manioc because I

see women selling manioc around here. We must increase the production of manioc. You also have palm trees here, but I do not know if you have African oil palm trees here. There must not be many of them, there are only coconut palms. At any rate, those who produce fish will be able, then, along with the commune of Ramiros and others around here, to see how they are going to get palm oil.

"Because if we have good fish, good manioc, and good palm oil, I think that with soup we live very well. Furthermore, we have heard the statements from the comrade minister of planning saying that we should eat less rice now because rice costs a lot of money, we have to spend dollars that we do not have....

"I speak these words in order to sensitize the comrades so that we will all work together. Engineers, architects, economists, lawyers, fishermen, farmers, masons.... If every one fulfills his mission, we will be able to accomplish projects such as this one very rapidly and improve our living conditions.

"There has to be determination and unity of action. At the level of ideas, we create good plans, good programs, but sometimes when we move on to putting those plans into action, we do not achieve the needed unity.

"Here, in this project, that unity has been achieved. People worked day and night, because they knew that they were working for themselves, and now we are all satisfied because, after all, we have accomplished a task for the benefit of all the citizens of this commune and also for the appreciation of all the technicians who have worked so diligently in the planning and building of this project.

"Therefore, I want to ask the fishermen of Mussulo, the members of the party, and finally the peasants to support, as they have done until now, all these people of good will who come here to offer their loans, their services, with affection and with the desire to see Mussulo transformed. And why is it that we need for Mussulo to be transformed? In the first place, because we want our people to live better. We are independent. Tomorrow will mark 15 years since the independence of Angola was proclaimed, independence that was fought for so that we can live better. The country is ours, it is in our hands, we have to work so that it will be a great country.

"In the second place, Mussulo is a place that attracts Angolans from other parts of the country and foreigners from many different places. There are good beaches here, there are good places to rest, and therefore, lots of people want to come here to spend leisure time, to rest, to use the services. For that reason, there is the idea of developing tourism. But Mussulo cannot remain as it is if tourists are to come here and be able to feel good and, because of conditions here, be enticed to come back several times. Mussulo has to be transformed, and we are satisfied to see that officials from Sacilda and also from Tecnocarro have come up with a project that is going to be a source of great pride for all the inhabitants of Mussulo and for all Angolans. This is a plan to make

Mussulo a great tourist area and perhaps in the future a tourist spot known around the world.

"I think that the opportunity to carry out these projects is there. We do not have much money, but those who want to come and explore the conditions for tourism here and have money will bring dollars.

"We have to know how to create the conditions so that those people who bring that money will work with us, improve the living conditions and then take, let us say, in payment that which is due to them, that which we owe them. Within that framework, the presence of the representative of Equeter Bank has been applauded. Equeter Bank is an American bank, meaning that in the United States of America also there are those who are interested in Angola and who want to work with us in the economic and financial area, on fair terms, and we always welcome those people of good will.

"Therefore Equeter Bank is working with us not only here in Mussulo but on several other projects, and we would like to ask Mr. Kennedy and others to mobilize other willing people in the United States, in the sense of increasing the number of Americans who understand Angolans better, who see the Angolans as friends, as people of good will who want to improve their living conditions and, within the scope of international cooperation, and based on fair criteria, to enter this big world-wide game in which interests are balanced, in which advantages are shared in a just and equitable manner.

"Therefore, we ask for your continued support for this project and for other projects that we have the intention of carrying out.

"Finally, comrades, I do not know if you have been pleased with the work that has been done, because no inhabitant of Mussulo, other than the pioneer who said a few words about the school, has spoken up. Whether what we have done was well done or was not well done; whether we should do better, whether we should do more. That time when you had the floor, you talked; this time when the floor was given to you, you have not said anything. Therefore, we are leaving here not knowing if we have done a good job or not. I have said that I want us to maintain our structures well, and that all of us should work together to improve the living conditions in Mussulo and for the people of our country in general.

"Thank you very much for your attention."

Something Is Changing in Mussulo

The new image that is being planned for Mussulo is framed in the concerns expressed by the inhabitants of the island during the visit made last March to that locality by Comrade President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in his capacity as deputy of the People's Assembly assigned to the municipality of Samba as his area of activity.

Nature has bestowed on the island of Mussulo unparalleled qualities that can provide its inhabitants and especially visitors enjoyable hours of leisure. Furthermore, it would seem, it has lately become an area preferred by many for "blowing off steam" during their free time.

The President of the Republic is of the opinion that these natural conditions should be put to good use, transforming the local environment by creating infrastructures capable of offering a good stay to visitors to the island by providing them with efficient services.

It is normal to hear comments about the island such as: "If this place were really put to use with the construction of buildings for various purposes, it would be a place where everyone would visit and spend some time." And that is exactly what is being planned.

The step that has already been taken is very important, because the students who have already finished the first level have the problem solved because they are going to be able to receive "at home" classes instead of having to travel to other areas, some even having to cross some difficult terrain.

On the island, two first-level schools already existed, and 302 students are registered for this level of instruction while the second level will begin with 56 students registered in the fifth class.

There are 11 teachers at the first level, and with the inauguration of the second-level school, education officials in the municipality of Samba will appoint the respective teachers for that level of teaching on the island.

The medical facility will certainly have qualified personnel capable of responding to the concerns of the inhabitants of the island, and not only to them.

The bakery that has been inaugurated has an installed capacity for 30,000 loaves of bread per day, which is certainly sufficient production to answer the immediate needs of the islanders.

The President of the Republic seemed satisfied with the first steps that have been taken within the scope of the beautification of the island, and in the speech that he made at a meeting held with the fishermen and other inhabitants of the island in which individuals connected with the project to support small fishermen participated, he encouraged all the personnel connected with the program to demonstrate their ability to carry out planned work, and in order for that to happen, the spirit of unity of action must reign.

The work is going to continue at a pace that the overseers of the project considered positive so that, within a short period of time, an undertaking of great value will be accomplished.

***Vigilance Brigades Not To Be Dismantled**

91AF0365B Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 15 Nov 90 p 2

[Text] This past weekend, the interim national secretary of the People's Vigilance Brigades [BPV], Franca Eusebio Dias

dos Santos, denied information that was circulating claiming that the BPV would be dismantled as a result of the changes that are taking place in the country.

For Franca Eusebio, who was speaking to ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] on the occasion of the seventh anniversary of the BPV, "such information is being disseminated by hidden forces that since the very beginning have been opposed to the existence of this mass organization."

He went on to say that in order to move the revolution forward and in order to accomplish the tasks of national reconstruction, the party cannot fight alone, adding that "the revolution is being carried out by the masses and for the masses."

He made it clear that the work of the brigade members has not earned the attention that it deserves from other structures because many of its members are beaten and even threatened with imprisonment for reporting this or that irregular activity.

For Franca Eusebio, the incidents are often at the root of the failure of the work of the brigade members when they report any and all "activity that aims to destroy the Angolan revolution."

The national executive of the People's Vigilance Brigades has on several occasions reported such wrong attitudes to the central board of the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party], which, in turn, is studying ways of solving the situation, he stressed.

The BPV is an unproductive organization, without financial resources, that has nearly 1,485 members divided into intermediate, municipal, and provincial committees.

The BPV was created on 13 November 1983 with the objective of reinforcing vigilance and combatting actions of banditry.

***New Information Ministry Location Announced**

91AF0365C Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 16 Nov 90 p 3

[Text] By the second half of December, the recently created Angolan Ministry of Information will have its own facilities, located on Comandante Valodia Avenue in Luanda.

This was announced on Tuesday [14 November] to ANGOP [Angolan Press Agency] by the director of Soares da Costa in Angola, Engineer Pereira de Almeida.

Pereira de Almeida said that the construction work on the building, which will also house the Ministry of Planning, will not be finished in November as was scheduled due to lack of water and interruptions in the power supply which upset the cement-making schedule.

The building has 12 floors, two of which are for the Ministry of Information, and it will have two emergency generators and an equal number of 15 cubic meter water

tanks. It will be turned over to its new occupants furnished, with the furniture coming from Portugal.

In this project, which was budgeted at \$4.3 million, 80 percent of the materials used were imported, and 100 percent of its financing was handled by Soares da Costa.

The building, which borders on the Marcal neighborhood, was erected before independence and its completion comes about as a result of a governmental decision to finish nearly 80 buildings in the capital that are in the same condition.

The recently created Ministry is currently operating out of the facilities of the National Photograph Company (ENFOTO), which is dependent on the Department of Information and Propaganda of the Central Committee of the MPLA-PT [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party].

It should be noted that Soares da Costa, the largest Portuguese construction company and the 29th in volume of business, has been in Angola since 1980 operating in the provinces of Luanda, Zaire, and Benguela.

From among its prospects in Angola, particularly outstanding is the diversification of its activities in the field of public works and the implementation of a joint project with the Angolan construction company Empre for the construction of social dwellings in the province of Namibe (coastline).

***Minister Explains Reforms to Bengo Peasants**

91AF0365D Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 13 Nov 90 p 2

[Article by Francisco Gama: "Faustino Muteka Clarifies Government's Plan of Action"]

[Excerpts] Problems with the lack of lands to farm, sheets of zinc or losalite to take the place of thatching; of exchange of money, and insufficient social assistance to the displaced persons, among others, were presented by the peasants of the province of Bengo to the minister of agriculture, Fernando Faustino Muteka, who held a meeting in Caxito with the organized peasants, held in conjunction with the festivities of 11 November, National Independence Day, which this year, unlike previous years, was entirely the government's responsibility.

The meeting, which had as its principal objective to clarify and sensitize the people to the importance of the government's Plan of Action within the scope of the SEF [Economic and Financial Reorganization], and of the peace plan being supported by the government and the country's foreign and domestic policy, was attended by the adjunct provincial commissar for economic and social affairs, Miguel Fernandes, representing the provincial commissar, Colonel Pedro Benga Lima "Foguetao," and other officials from the province.

Of the three items on the agenda, the government's Plan of Action was what aroused the greatest interest among

those present, particularly among the peasants who wanted to know for sure the benefits that the province could gain. [passage omitted]

Questions such as the possibility of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] accepting demilitarization, this being one of the elementary principles for the effective implementation of a multiparty system, were also discussed. In reply, the minister of agriculture said that discussions are going on, among other things, over details of this nature, and in case there should be a consensus, the military men of Unita will have to be demobilized or integrated into the national army.

There were more than a few complaints. In fact, the displaced persons coming from various points in the province, especially from the Northeast, with differing cultural practices, customs and principles, who have sought the relative stability of the capital city of the province in order to establish themselves there, are experiencing serious difficulties in adapting. [passage omitted]

Aggravating this fact is the weak support that they have been receiving from the appropriate provincial structures. So, according to one peasant, "Social Affairs only pays attention to us once, or at the very most, twice a year."

Moreover, even putting together the money so that they can buy what they need the most, such as sheets of metal, cement, renting machinery to clear the land which has been given to them by the delegation of agriculture so that they can grow something there for their own subsistence, it is unsuccessful because, according to Bruno Ingles, the director of DINAMA [expansion not given], Cimangola never managed to fulfill the plans to deliver cement which it had established, and FATA [expansion not given] much less in terms of sheets of zinc.

As for Cimianto, which was supposed to deliver the sheets of losalite, it says that it is having problems with the water and power supply.

The director of ENAMA [National Agricultural Mechanization Company] justified the noncompletion of the work by saying that the machinery which his company handles had granted to the association of displaced persons because it had been forced—at a time when UNITA was blowing up the power lines—to transfer a series of machines to the above-mentioned area, guaranteeing that as soon as those machines are no longer needed there, they will once again grant them and fulfill the previously planned work schedule without, however, going back and charging any additional money as a result of the increase in the cost of fuel.

***First State Pharmacy Inaugurated in Luanda**

91AF0365E Luanda JORNAL DE ANGOLA
in Portuguese 13 Nov 90 p 2

[Text] The first state-run Galenic production pharmacy was inaugurated yesterday [12 November] on Comandante Hoji-Ya-Henda Street in Luanda, by the director-general of the National Medicine Company, Dr. Jose Vitoriano.

The undertaking, which has already begun operating, has as its main objective the local production of simple pharmaceutical formulas, especially mercurochrome, cough medicine, and salves and liniments for skin diseases, among others. At this moment it already has a stock of raw materials for a one-year period.

Already at work in it are a middle-level pharmaceutical technician who will head the establishment, two basic pharmaceutical technicians, and four female counter attendants who are currently enrolled in a basic course with the goal of acquiring the knowledge which will allow them to provide better service to the patients who come there for help.

On the occasion, Jose Vitoriano thanked the whole work team for doing everything so that the inauguration of that commercial establishment could take place, and he appealed to them to devote themselves with even greater resolution and honesty to the new task that lies before them, which is to contribute to the improvement in the supplying of medicine to the citizens.

The inauguration of the Galenic production pharmacy falls within the framework of the Ministry of Health's plan of action, which foresees the rehabilitation of four state pharmacies by next year.

Participating in the inaugural ceremony were the directors of the State Pharmacies Extended Vaccination Program and the program to market medicines and medical resources, among other persons.

Mozambique

Renamo Carries Out Nacala Corridor Attacks

*MB0701131091 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1050 GMT 7 Jan 91*

[Text] At 0500 yesterday a group of about 100 armed men belonging to Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] attacked a military garrison detailed to protect the Nacala corridor and located at the Mutivase administrative post in Nampula District, 42 km west of the provincial capital.

During the 30-minute clash the attackers left behind them one dead comrade and one weapon, and according to their tracks they must have carried at least five bodies with them. During their withdrawal the attackers kidnapped two Mutivase residents.

At the Caramaja administrative post, 50 km from the Nampula provincial capital, another group of armed bandits attacked two vehicles traveling toward Malema on the afternoon of last Saturday [5 January]. They killed six people and wounded six more, all of whom were civilians.

No material damage was registered in the two attacks.

Radio Mozambique learned this information this morning from a source in the reconnaissance sector of the Nacala Corridor Defense Brigade in Nampula.

Chissano Lauds International Community for Aid

*MB0501100091 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 0900 GMT 5 Jan 91*

[Text] President Joaquim Chissano has lauded the international community for its support to Mozambique at the last consultative conference in Paris to guarantee funds that will enable us pursue rehabilitation, emergency, and economic and social development programs this year. The Mozambican statesman said this yesterday at a New Year reception for the diplomatic corps accredited to Mozambique.

In his speech, Chissano thanked the international community for its support to Mozambican victims of war and natural disasters who sought refuge in Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and South Africa.

President Joaquim Chissano also expressed special gratitude to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and nongovernmental organizations for their assistance to the Mozambican people.

Namibia

Angolan MiGs Raid UNITA Bases, Hit Sites

Six Bombs Dropped

*MB0501195291 Windhoek Domestic Service
in English 1900 GMT 5 Jan 91*

[Text] Six more [as heard] bombs dropped from Soviet-made Mig-23 fighter planes have exploded near (Bogane) in the north of Namibia.

Police spokesman Inspector (Werner Gehlers) told the NAMBC [Namibian Broadcasting Corporation] that the bombs were dropped just after ten this morning [0800 GMT], exploding on impact in and near a Water Affairs site and a nearby base of the Namibian Defense Force. (Gehlers) said three of the bombs exploded about 50 meters from the work and living quarters in the Water Affairs camp.

Eight Total Bombs Dropped

*MB0701083091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0823 GMT 7 Jan 91*

[Text] Windhoek Jan 7 SAPA—Soviet-made MiG-23 aircraft dropped a total of eight bombs at two separate sites inside Namibia on Saturday and Friday, Nambc [Namibian Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reports.

Police spokesman Inspector Werener Gevers said in Windhoek two planes dropped six bombs near Bagani close to the border with Angola at a Namibian Water

Affairs installation, and near a Namibian Defence Force base just after 10 AM on Saturday.

No casualties were reported but extensive damage was caused to buildings.

Inspector Gevers said the two planes were flying from north to south when they dropped the bombs, indicating they were possibly aiming at a UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebel base about three km north of Bagani inside south-eastern Angola.

Two more bombs were dropped in the vicinity of Namibia's Omega military base in western Caprivi by an Angolan aircraft apparently targeting the UNITA rebel base inside Angola.

Inspector Gevers said explosives experts had recovered evidence from the scene of the bombings at Bagani and brought the shrapnel to Windhoek for examination.

First indications were that the bombs had been of the high fragmentation type.

Heavy rains were preventing investigators from reaching the scene of the bombing incident near Omega, Inspector Gevers said.

Information Minister Notes Attacks

MB0701171491 London BBC World Service
in English 1615 GMT 7 Jan 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] There has been a mysterious bombing incident in northern Namibia over the weekend. Reports speak of an air attack two days running in the northeastern corner of the country, next to the border with Angola, but so far no one has claimed responsibility and nothing is known of the identity of the planes.

On the line to Windhoek, Josephine Haysley asked Namibian Information Minister Hidipo Hamutenya what his information was about the attack:

[Begin recording] [Hamutenya] For definite, that the planes dropped bombs on our territory, and we do not know whose planes were those.

[Haysley] Where about on your territory did these bombs drop?

[Hamutenya] In the northeastern part of the country.

[Haysley] Presumably near to the border with Angola?

[Hamutenya] Yes.

[Haysley] Near to the area where the rebel group UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] operates?

[Hamutenya] Well, in that direction.

[Haysley] What amount of damage did they cause? (?Some of) the [word indistinct] installations were destroyed.

[Hamutenya] We understand that nobody was killed and no damage to any installation as yet, but we are waiting for the verification of the team that has gone to the area. They are coming back this evening.

[Haysley] Have you any idea who may have dropped these bombs on your territory?

[Hamutenya] Absolutely nothing, no idea whatsoever.

[Haysley] [Words indistinct] be Angolan Government planes?

[Hamutenya] It is possible, but we have got no confirmation of that or any concrete evidence to conclude that those planes were Angolan planes.

[Haysley] But surely you must have some idea as to why they want to isolate your territory.

[Hamutenya] Absolutely nothing. As I said, we are not in any conflict with any of our neighbors. That is why we are puzzled at what could be the motive, who is responsible, and not knowing who is responsible and not knowing the motive make us puzzled. We of course don't take kindly to this kind of thing, but again, we are making investigations, as I said. We are [words indistinct] all our neighbors to establish whether any one of them had their planes either intentionally or unintentionally stray into our territory.

[Haysley] It would appear to me that these bombs were dropped intentionally because they did it for two days running, both on Friday [4 January] and Saturday.

[Hamutenya] Well, we are beginning to wonder why would (?anybody) want to bomb us. We are not at war with any of our neighbors, so it is difficult for us to conclude that the intention of the bombing by any of our neighbors who never told us of any conflict. [sentence as heard]

[Haysley] There again, is your government perhaps working on the theory that the planes of the Angolan Government accidentally dropped the bombs on you, the bombs that were meant for UNITA?

[Hamutenya] Well, that is a possibility, but we are [words indistinct] on any theory like that. It is one of the probabilities. [end recording]

SWAPO Accused of Holding 1,400 People

MB0401112091 Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA
in English 20 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Still 1,400 Namibians Held"]

[Text] Over 1,400 Namibians continue to be held by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organizations] in Angola and elsewhere, of whom the identities of 549 are

known to the National Society of Human Rights [NSHR], according to a statement released in Windhoek yesterday.

And hundreds of Namibians are among over 4,000 political detainees held under maximum security and "abominable conditions" at Bentiaba in Angola's Namibe province.

The NSHR says in its annual review the Namibians being held at Bentiaba were shifted from the SWAPO dungeons near and around Lubango during the implementation of United Nations Resolution 435.

The Society bases its disclosure on "highly reliable sources within the Angolan State security establishments."

It has also been established that over 400 Namibian and Angolan political detainees continue to be held by the Angolan security service in the underground maximum security section of the Peu Peu prison about 22km north of Xangongo in Angola's Cunene Province.

Hundreds of Namibians continue to be unlawfully held "in various prison camps and other Angolan torture citadels" and several such detention sites have been positively identified by the NSHR.

The South African government continues to be held responsible for the detention and/or disappearance without trace of some 59 Namibians.

Continuing its review of human rights abuses in 1990, the NSHR says 80 of the 400 Namibian children repatriated from former East Germany could not be reunited with their families. The majority, if not all, of these were among the controversial group of the 120 children who were secretly airlifted to East Germany in July 1989.

Czechoslovakia's foreign ministry has meanwhile confirmed that 99 Namibian children plus seven Namibian tutors are currently in that country. 56 children and seven tutors arrived there from Luanda in 1985, while 43 other children were airlifted last year. These Namibians are placed in boarding schools at Prachatice and Povazska Bystrica.

The group includes two Angolan female orphans whose mothers were killed in a SWAPO raid on UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] refugee camps in Angola's Cuito province in 1986.

The review goes on to state the Society monitored "widespread human rights violations against members and supporters of opposition Namibian parties.

"These acts of brutality and atrocities were committed by the notorious unit of 'special constables' in the northern parts of Namibia."

According to the NSHR the "notorious border unit was composed mainly of former PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] fighters and former torturers, members of the infamous SWAPO security service at Lubango."

The NSHR says a detailed joint investigative report by itself and the Forderungsgesellschaft Afrika (FGA) concerning acts of brutality committed by the 'special constables' was submitted to the minister of home affairs, Hifikepunye Pohamba. The review goes on to note that the unit has meanwhile been "totally disbanded."

In connection with the murder on 18 April of Namibian Police detective segeant Danie van der Westhuizen at Oshakati, the NSHR was informed by the office of the ombudsman that the alleged killers were finally arrested, appeared in court and were remanded.

Although a few incidents of serious human rights abuses, including manslaughter, by members of the Namibian Defence Force were recorded by the Society, "the NDF behaved fairly well," the report adds.

"Several public statements by NDF officials such as the deputy defense minister, Mr. Philemon Malima, raise hopes that the NDF is striving to become a well-disciplined and professional army which will not be used as political tool for human rights violations."

The findings and recommendations of the NSHR concerning "practices of the ideology of apartheid and racial discrimination by Namibia's parastatal bodies" will be forwarded to the authorities when completed.

"National reconciliation cannot be effected while apartheid and racist bigotry continue to be practiced against the black majority in the Namibian society," it says.

Over R[and]90,000 has so far been spent on 56 needy returnee Namibians able to prove they were "unemployed former victims of unlawful political persecution, torture and deprivation in exile." The NSHR has administered this Detainees Relief Assistance Fund (DRAF) on behalf of the FGA.

The NSHR also administered relief financial assistance on behalf of Amnesty International.

Ivory Coast

****Pcor' Election Turnout Owing to Fraud**

91AF0335A London WEST AFRICA in English
3-9 Dec 90 p 2946

[Article by Chris Simpson in Abidjan]

[Text] There is a sense of anti-climax and resignation in Abidjan after Cote d'Ivoire's first-ever multiparty legislative elections. November 25 was supposed to have been a watershed in Ivorian history. Both government and opposition had urged voters to turn out in force. The democratic party of Cote d'Ivoire (PDCI), anxious to convince sceptics of its new-found tolerance and painfully conscious of the divisions within its ranks, wanted a showcase. The opposition badly needed to recover ground lost in the presidential elections of 28 October and demonstrate that its support was not confined to a few pockets of resistance. But the voters stayed away in droves. By the Ministry of Interior's reckoning, the final turn-out was 40.02 percent. It may well have been much less.

If anybody was to benefit from voter apathy it was the PDCI which duly carried off 163 of the 175 seats in the National Assembly. The remaining seats were split between the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI) (9), the Ivorian Workers Party (PIT) (1), and independent candidates (2).

The key question was inevitably: why did so many Ivorians choose not to vote? The line put out by the minister of interior, Mr Leon Konan Koffi, a dour star turn on Ivorian television before, during and after the elections, was as predictable as it implausible [as published]: the threat of violence from "certain irresponsables" (presumably FPI activists) had deterred thousands from performing their electoral duty. The government media also observed that the campaigns of 1980 and 1985 had attracted considerably more voter interest. The TV station, which had just stopped short of instructing voters to back the PDCI, ran an election results (and music) special long into the night, the presenter's grin broadening with every PDCI gain registered.

For the FPI, the low turnout was disappointing but entirely understandable. Despite protestations from the authorities that every effort had been made to allow a free and fair vote, the rigging had been so blatant last time round that few were inclined to take such guarantees at face value, hence the boycott.

Indifference certainly reigned supreme. Touring the Treichville constituency on polling day, one found bored soldiers, stationed outside polling booths to ensure that everything went off in "a spirit of peace and serenity" basking in the sun. Officials apologised for the pitiful trickle of real live voters on display. The day before, the area had been teeming with FPI supporters chanting the name of their candidate, Sylla Mahmadou Yacouba. The campaign manager had anticipated a high turnout and an easy victory. Neither materialised.

But while it was difficult to detect much in the way of election fever, there were inevitable talking-points once the results were in. Amongst those to fall at the polls was former minister of information, Mr Laurent Dona Fologo, long viewed as a key architect of PDCI policy and a prime candidate for the post of PDCI secretary general. Fologo narrowly failed to take the northern constituency of Sinematiali.

There was a surprise victory for PTI leader, Professor Francis Wodie in the affluent suburb of Cocody, where Houphouet-Boigny had earlier cast his vote.

Wodie, a professor of law at the University of Abidjan, saw off two PDCI candidates and a senior FPI representative. He will be joined in the National Assembly by FPI leader, Professor Laurent Gbago, safely returned in Gagnoa, along with two of his supporters. The government had identified Gagnoa as a key troublespot and despatched truckloads of soldiers to the area despite Gbago's warning against the creation of civil war climate. There were notable FPI victories in Doekoue and Divo.

The FPI had expected to make a strong showing in Yopougon, the opposition stronghold, partly because of its large student population. But both PDCI candidates were returned. FPI activists maintained that the "Loubard" factor had weighed heavily, the Ivorian military entering into an unholy alliance with PDCI-hired thugs to intimidate voters and commit acts of vandalism in the hope of smearing the FPI. In one incident, it was alleged that PDCI supporters had driven a jeep into a crowd of rival activists, causing several injuries.

The general message from the FPI camp in the aftermath of the voting was that, once again, democracy in Cote d'Ivoire had been shown to exist in name only. According to officials at the FPI's Koumassi Headquarters, the voting had been marred by an all too predictable catalogue of iniquities; scores of voters left off electoral lists, voting cards distributed so as to favour the PDCI, voting called to halt at the discretion of local authorities in some constituencies, students finding themselves ineligible to vote despite being 21 or over, money being thrown at PDCI campaigns while the FPI faced penury. The PDCI's use of non-Ivorians as voting fodder still rankled, although Front supporters were anxious to repudiate the PDCI's charges of racism.

FRATERNITE MATIN's post-election editorial acknowledged that there would be allegations of fraud, but warned that they would fall on deaf ears if not accompanied by "irrefutable proof." But it seems unlikely that the opposition will raise much of a hue and cry. It is common knowledge that "irregularities" took place, but it becomes almost banal to list them.

Liberia

Sawyer Asks NPFL To Stop Raids, Looting

AB0701162391 Monrovia Radio ELBC
in English 0900 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] The Liberian Interim Government of National Unity has expressed concern over the continuous looting, armed raids, and kidnapping in communities by soldiers of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, the NPFL. The president of Liberia's Interim Government of National Unity, Dr. Amos Sawyer says such activities are tantamount to a breach of the cease-fire. He says the Charles Taylor-led NPFL cannot talk of honoring the cease-fire when citizens are not at peace. President Sawyer is requesting the NPFL to stop the armed raids, looting, and kidnapping or the government will be left with no alternative but to take measures to ensure that the cease-fire is enforced. President Sawyer was reacting to reports of NPFL soldiers killing and harassing citizens in the townships of Louisiana, Robertsville, Harrisburg, and Crozierville.

In a complaint to the interim government, the citizens of the townships say they have been ill-treated, homes looted, and some citizens taken away to unknown destinations. They also report the beheading of Charles and Momoh Willy in White Plains, while John Goodridge of Crozierville was shot and killed. The citizens say they have been stopped from coming to Monrovia or returning to their homes outside of NPFL-held areas. The citizens have, meanwhile, appealed to the interim government to take necessary measures to have the situation arrested.

Seen as 'Stumbling Block to Peace'

AB0701215291 Gbarnga Radio ELBC
in English 1900 GMT 7 Jan 91

[Text] President Charles Gankey Taylor says (?local talks aimed at) working out the modalities for the cease-fire agreement [passage indistinct]. President Taylor told ELBC News that the talks will be (?duly held) in Monrovia this Friday, 11 January. He said a second meeting will follow in one week from Friday in Buchanan, Grand Bassa County. The NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] leader said he is open to [words indistinct] discussions on how best peace could return to Liberia. He said he is committed to peace and [words indistinct] with the Independent NPFL and the leader of the Armed Forces of Liberia, the AFL. President Taylor said the behavior of the Independent NPFL and the AFL since the last Banjul conference has been calm and responsible. He deserves (?praise) of all peace-loving Liberians. He said the warring factions in Monrovia can contact him through radio message on any suggestion for genuine peace to this country.

Mr. Taylor said the real stumbling block to peace is Amos Sawyer's defiance at the Bamako conference who

called for the nonexistence of a government in Monrovia. Mr. Taylor said Sawyer's presence in Monrovia is dangerous to the peace process. He warned the Independent NPFL and the remainder of the AFL to be aware of politicians in Monrovia who put their interests above the interests of peace. He said no group, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group], or politician has the right to demand that the armies of the Independent NPFL and the Armed Forces of Liberia while these foreign forces to continue to pose threat to Liberia's sovereignty and territorial integrity [sentence has heard].

Warring Factions To Iron Out Cease-Fire

AB0801102991 London BBC World Service
in English 1830 GMT 7 Jan 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] It seems that warring factions in Liberia have been taking significant steps toward peace. After the meetings in Bamako and Banjul, it was envisaged that they would all get together to work out the cease-fire details. Now, firm dates and venues have been set for meetings about the cease-fire, and one of them is to be held in rebel leader, Charles Taylor's territory, as Scott Sterns reports from Monrovia.

[Begin Sterns recording] ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] Secretary General Abbas Bundu has been asked to provide a command security for the first series of meetings scheduled for Friday and Saturday [11 and 12 January] at Monrovia's Executive Pavillion. The second session is scheduled for next Wednesday and Thursday [16 and 17 January] and in the Taylor-held port city of Buchanan, where ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] security is also expected. The fifth day of meeting has been planned for the 21st, but no location was announced.

In a joint press release, the technical committees of the Armed Forces of Liberia and Prince Johnson's Independent National Patriotic Front expressed appreciation to the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee for recognizing the changing political realities in the country, and according the contending parties greater flexibility in negotiating a political accommodation toward February's All-Liberian Conference to elect a future broad-based interim government acceptable to the majority of Liberians.

In a separate policy statement, Johnson's committee called on Amos Sawyer's interim government and other leaders to refrain from any decisions that might undermine the peace process or commit the future interim government. Sources familiar with Johnson's camp say that may signal the beginning of opposition to Sawyer's cabinet nominations announced last week. With Taylor refusing a seat in the interim legislative assembly, Johnson's delegates could block the cabinet confirmation. [end recording]

Senegal

Structural Adjustment 'Failure' Described**High Costs Hit Farmers**

91AF0268A Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
5-12 Oct 90 p 4

[Article by Pathe Diagne; first paragraph is WAL FADJRI introduction]

[Text] An economy in collapse cannot move in the direction of development even through a process of structural adjustment. That is the conclusion reached by Pathe Diagne in his second "sketch" (see WAL FADJRI No. 228). Presented below are the suggestions arising from that conclusion and his sector-by-sector analysis (see WAL FADJRI Nos. 227 and 228).

Despite the state's disengagement, and at the instigation of U.S. AID [Agency for International Development] and the French Central Fund for Economic Cooperation, which are its financial backers, the NPA [New Agricultural Policy] is intended to perpetuate a colonial type of agriculture, which colonizes the peasant producing networks for peanuts, cotton, and rice. All of those networks are controlled partly by a rural bureaucracy made up of SONAR [National Rural Supply Company], SODEFITEX [Society for the Development of Textile Fibers], the SAED [Company for the Development and Utilization of the Senegal River Delta], SODEVA [Society for the Development of Intensive Agriculture Methods?], and SODAGRI [Senegalese Society for the Development of Agriculture and Industry] and partly by private or parastatal firms specializing in oilworks, husking or shelling, spinning, or textiles. In that agricultural policy, the ultimate but revealing aberration has to do with the fact that the peasant producer is prohibited from enhancing the value of his products. He therefore does not sell oil, oilcake, or ginned cotton as seed or oil; he is compelled to sell only his raw crop. The added value, which at that stage constitutes the bulk of the value, escapes him completely and benefits the controlling bureaucracy in industry and the state. Even more serious: he is compelled to buy seed, equipment, and inputs—even those that are subsidized—at exorbitant prices or to obtain them on credit terms that defy good sense. The CNCA [National Farm Credit Fund] charges 15-percent interest and requires that the peasant contribute 33 percent out of his own pocket. Less visible is the way in which the firms and the sluggish and poorly managed supervision of those networks force the colonized peasant producer to bear a very heavy burden in an area where he could have built up a prosperous agricultural business.

In an excellent study written by Ousseynou Gueye and published in WAL FADJRI on 20 July 1989, we learn that a producer who uses 120 kilograms of seed and 150 kilograms of fertilizer on 1 hectare of land will have to repay the value of 346 kilograms of peanuts, even though

it frequently happens that his harvest totals only 250 kilograms. It is understandable that the peasant should be avoiding and refusing to accept the NPA and its networks and that there should be a sizable drop in purchases of selected peanut seed that is bought for 80 CFA [African Financial Community] francs and sold for 120 CFA francs. Fertilizer has become a luxury at 70,000 CFA francs per metric ton, even though the intention is to subsidize up to 50 percent of its value in the case of cotton. Seed consumption has dropped by over 80 percent, leading to a drop in the productivity and profitability of the networks. The Saloum Region, which once produced up to 1 million metric tons of peanuts, now produces only 500,000 metric tons, having chosen to leave the network and grow millet instead. Eastern Senegal is refusing to grow cotton.

At the start of the 1980s, Abdoulaye Wade was correct when he said it was necessary to base the revival of the economy on the revival of the agricultural and stock-raising production apparatus. It is true that he wanted to distribute seed and inputs at no charge, an approach that was not without its dangers in a context where everything can be misappropriated. The agricultural policy can be self-financed by the producers with the amounts levied on them by the peanut and cotton networks or through STABEX [Export Stabilization Fund]. The financing of agricultural production through long-term loans should be made the foundation of the policy in that sector. Loans or subsidies for acquiring equipment and inputs should be available for a period of five years. On another level, the agricultural policy continues to confine the producer to the sale of raw products, whereas he should be given the means to sell by-products at least. The state, acting through SONACOS [National Oleaginous Product Marketing Company of Senegal], which processes peanuts, posted a turnover of about 50 billion CFA francs on exports of 109,509 metric tons of peanut oil in 1984, compared to 175,000 metric tons in 1983. The NPA's ambition is to increase peanut production from 800,000 to 1.2 million metric tons by the year 2000 so as to obtain the 800,000 or 950,000 metric tons required by the installed crushing capacity. And despite all the mistakes made, the 1989 harvest—thanks to the peasant, God, and rain—exceeded those forecasts. The harvest resulted in a surplus exceeding crushing capacity—and that without adequate equipment or inputs. This shows the network's scope for progress even in a context of natural agriculture with low productivity.

The cotton producers are no better off. They find themselves forced to accept an arbitrary discount from the world price to finance a textile industry that is in crisis simply because it is badly managed. In some regions, peasants have refused to plant, hence the drop in the production of a crop, which an unambitious plan calls for increasing to 65,000 metric tons by the year 2000. As though here, too, it were necessary to discourage the agents of a line of quality products whose value is also enhanced primarily by the industry for processing seeds and by-products. It is anticipated that self-sufficiency in

food based on cereals and truck farming will reach 70 or 80 percent by the year 2000.

As far as stockraising is concerned, the livestock is regenerating itself naturally thanks to the return of the rains. Small-scale and semi-industrial fishing has declined due to the lack of credit and protection, as noted before. A five-year policy granting loans at moderate rates of interest would have quickly generated the funds to finance all those sectors beyond the level of original investment.

The failure of the agricultural policy emphasizes, perhaps here more than elsewhere, the influence of the constraints imposed by the adjustment program. The NPA and the SAP [Structural Adjustment Program], under the influence of the financial backers and U.S. AID, which supply the loans, have thus missed out on exceptional harvests because they were too quick to eliminate "subsidies"—which are in fact restitution—without setting up a banking system for agriculture and stockraising. That was done, so it is said, out of a concern to force the peasant to start saving his seed again and to become part of a capitalist system.

***Credit Limits Hurt Firms**

91AF0268B Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
5-12 Oct 90 p 4

[Article by Pathe Diagne]

[Text] If we add the burden of the financial offsets imposed on the state every year by the SAP [Structural Adjustment Program] to the decline in the incomes of producers and households, we get a better picture of the serious crisis in industry and services in Senegal and the other countries in the area. The amount of the offset, imposed without reference to the recovery sequence, is ruining demand, destroying marginal consumption, and bankrupting the industrial apparatus.

That policy, implemented on the pretext that there is excessive consumption in an economy of shortages and underutilized factors of production, is suicidal. The government, strategically powerless, subscribed to it. In order to mobilize the offsets to its borrowed funds, it is being forced to dip into the funds needed for operations, maintenance, and salaries—that is, the minimal amount spent on consumption. It is true that one cannot challenge the need to reduce excessive and import-oriented consumption on the part of households and the state when that consumption jeopardizes savings for investment and long-term development. But the timing of an equitable and consistent policy on the subject must be adjusted. The NPI [new industrial policy], which is associated with the SAP, has as at least one consequence the bankruptcy of the firms, which have been deprived of the bulk of the domestic demand that once kept them operating.

The modern way of life, no matter how modest, that has been achieved by the population after a century of colonization is being totally challenged, and not without

cynicism. Otherwise how can one regard as excessive the minimal demand for consumption on the part of a population whose conditions with regard to housing, hygiene, leisure, and transportation are well known? Obviously, one could imitate the socialist economies of the 1980s and put everyone on a starvation diet, tolerate dilapidated housing, and encourage squatters and ghettos. One might consider abolishing the use of private automobiles in Africa in favor of the hypothetical "blue train," making people give up their little transistor radios or television sets, replacing Italian shoes with sandals and oriental slippers, and making the Senegalese wear secondhand clothes from whatever source. It is true that such a policy would confirm the miserabilist theses being spread by a European literature that is skillfully and lavishly disseminated by well-known experts who have grown rich on the hunger in the Third World and who most often preach their lessons under the cover of pseudohumanist or ecological slogans.

In a sense, deindustrialization would be beneficial. In any case, the restriction of consumption and demand here has reached such a level that modern firms can no longer hold out against bankruptcy. They have to deal with a market that is shrunken, poor, and besieged by the fraudulent entry of basic industrial products. To a large extent, those products consist of surpluses, which are not counterfeits but shoddy goods arriving from Asian countries in various forms: textiles, footwear, watches, hosiery, secondhand clothing, and so on. The deindustrialization under way in the Senegalese economic apparatus is thus the direct consequence of the policies for drastically restricting demand and the amount of credit available to businessmen. Those policies are being financed by the SAP, whose constraints cannot fail to be reflected in the NPI. To accentuate the negative effects of the SAP and the NPI, there is also a lack of clear vision concerning an industrial crisis whose strictly technological elements do not seem to be grasped. Senegal's relatively substantial industrial apparatus has grown obsolete. This is an opportunity to modernize it with advanced technologies adapted to its needs. But there is no awareness of this, otherwise firms whose equipment was obsolete and out of service and that operated in sectors undergoing worldwide technological change would not have been Senegalized for the benefit of the state or its proteges.

The textile, leather, and leather goods industries, like the food oil and cement industries, for example, are innovating with improved and expensive new-generation technologies. The abundance and quality of the necessary raw materials (peanuts, high-quality cotton, leather, gum arabic, and so on) and skilled manpower nevertheless provide the conditions for modernizing those industries on a very competitive basis in international terms. There is room in the textile industry for a more firmly established and better managed SOTEXKA [expansion unknown] and for small firms with advanced technology to manufacture a whole range of industrial products.

Unfortunately, the firms in those industries with export possibilities have been the targets of risky speculative transactions.

The SOCOCIM [West African Cement Company] operation is placing a burden on businessmen involved in the construction of low-cost housing and on the survival of the banking system. Back in the 1970s, an oilworks that already had excess capacity did not need the SEIB [expansion unknown], even in Diourbel. On the contrary, it would have been sensible to let Lesieur and the French oil manufacturer fend for themselves and export to their national markets while encouraging the establishment of firms to purchase by-products (crude oil, oilcake, and so on) from the peasants, refine them, and sell good quality finished products both inside and outside the country. ICOTAF [African Cotton Industry], SIMPAFRIC [expansion unknown], and the textile firms would not have had to suffer in either the domestic or the export market if the technological modernization of the equipment or their takeover had been self-financed by the businessman making the highest offer.

The crisis in the leather industry and in Bata is both speculative and technological in nature, but of a different order in certain respects. Production in this case is increasingly the work of small high-tech firms selling to multinational distributors such as Bata, Adidas, and others. Hence, the opportunity offered by the crisis in question to businessmen and thousands of Senegalese workers in the modern shoe manufacturing trade, who, in their own workshops established with credit, have produced and acted as subcontractors to Bata or a multinational sales group. But we have seen Bata urging the purchase of the firm itself when it was trying to get the state to bear the cost of its possible withdrawal and to reduce the social security contributions paid out to those who had made it prosperous. There is an industrial policy to be devised on the ruins of the current Senegalese apparatus. It presupposes a coherent strategy in an economy that is being restructured and put back in order.

***Government Layoff Woes**

91AF0268C Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
5-12 Oct 90 pp 4-5

[Article by Pathe Diagne]

[Text] Deflation has attracted the most attention because of its effects on an urban elite that is too dependent on the omnipotent state and the civil service. The target here has been the state payroll, which amounted to 125 billion CFA [African Financial Community] francs in 1988—a year when household income was estimated at 495 billion CFA francs and the state budget was an estimated 516 billion CFA francs. That payroll, which is growing because of overtime and social security charges, is said to be responsible for the diversion of savings from investment. It is accused of excessively inflating the domestic demand that is the driving force behind imports, the budget deficit, the current-account balance,

the balance of payments, the debt, and the monetary difficulties. But the payroll, which represented 59.1 percent of current revenues in 1987-88, or about 125 billion CFA francs, puts a much smaller strain on funds than customs fraud, tax evasion by informal businesses, and disproportionate prestige spending by the state and parastatal enterprises.

Despite its modest total, on the other hand, it has reached a point where, unfortunately, it plays a vital role in the socioeconomic balance of a postcolonial society that is having difficulty in easily settling its accounts with its red-tape past. Here, too, sudden deflation or simply the introduction of retirement at the age of 55 years generates a loss of energy and has serious, point-less, and avoidable social and economic consequences.

The policy of restricting public spending made it possible to reduce the total deficit in the state's operations from 11.5 percent of GDP [gross domestic product] in 1980-81 to 1 percent of GDP in 1987-88 by cutting back in particular on expenditures for supplies and materials. Those savings made it possible to wipe out 42.6 billion CFA francs in domestic debt in 1985-86 and 26 billion CFA francs in 1986-87. The poor use of public funds has certainly been corrected to some extent. Unfortunately, the maintenance of infrastructures and the provision of essential services (roads, school and medical equipment, hospitals, public transportation, and so on) have not always been kept up. The result is that billions of CFA francs worth of investments are threatened or in the process of being lost. The decline in credits and supplies in an admittedly poorly managed administration was hastily decided upon and implemented. On paper, it is supposed to produce savings that will be used to service the debt and provide the offsets to foreign aid. But the result in the field is physical ruin. For lack of maintenance, the infrastructure is crumbling. And equipment and supplies are not unessential just because it is easy to misappropriate them.

A policy for deflating public spending and increasing the state's revenues is essential. But that policy must be aimed at its true targets if it is not to result in disaster. Centimes are being saved at a time when hundreds of billions of CFA francs will be needed to rebuild our infrastructure from scratch. In the opinion of all observers, the state of disrepair existing in building amenities as well as in the urban road, port, railroad, and administrative infrastructure and the decaying environment reveal the seriousness of the deterioration that has occurred in recent years. By choosing to evaluate the economic recovery of the countries they supervise solely on the basis of latter's ability to mobilize a given amount of funds for the debt (from 50 billion to 100 billion CFA francs in Senegal's case and from 300 billion to 400 billion CFA francs in the case of Ivory Coast), the financial backers are making a serious and dangerous choice. They are forcing those countries to scrape around for funds rather than demanding rigorous management bearing promise for the future. The administrative restructuring clearly shows how aberrant that policy is in

the case of personnel. The government is proposing to mobilize 25 billion CFA francs for the early retirement of 5,000 government employees. Those who leave will therefore be paid amounts equivalent to from 36 to 60 months of pay, which they will spend, thereby swelling the ranks of those affected by deflation. Clearly something better is needed.

But here again, the government is yielding to short-sighted solutions, just as it has yielded to the mimicry behind the programs for so-called retraining, the elitist promotion of those holding master's degrees, or Agetip [expansion unknown], which, while not creating permanent jobs, are replacing well-done professional work with thinly scattered or amateurish operations.

***Growth Based on Agriculture**

91AF0268D Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
5-12 Oct 90 pp 4-5

[Article by Pathe Diagne]

[Text] The strategy for overcoming the crisis and giving development a boost depends upon the rapid development of an apparatus for manufacturing strategic products based on the human and material resources immediately available. It cannot dispense with a program for overhauling the monetary, banking, and development credit system. It presupposes a new approach to training and supervising human resources. It presupposes a recovery sequence that excludes the drastic requirement of forced savings and underconsumption—the requirement that forms the cornerstone of the SAP [Structural Adjustment Program].

The domestic effort to manage and collect funds must assign priority to local investment. Not only must the debt and its service be entirely rescheduled over the medium and long term, but also as a priority, the funds made available by savings and the rationalization of management must be reinvested for social and material maintenance and the development of the private or public production apparatus.

As it exists in Senegal, the Structural Adjustment Program shows its weaknesses through its underestimation of the role of the production apparatus in the strategic sectors for overcoming the crisis. It focuses on the modest objectives we are all familiar with in the areas of food self-sufficiency, development of the usual products of industrial agriculture for export, and the hopes being nourished with respect to hypothetical multinational firms in the free trade zone.

The New Agricultural Policy, which is not banking on the modernization and enrichment of the peasants, is aimed at the strategic agricultural and stockraising sector and the satisfaction of from 75 to 80 percent of the country's food requirements by the year 2000. Considering the demographic projections, those objectives must be seen as no more than reference points for coming up with an entirely different program aimed at treating

agricultural, stockraising, and fishing activities and industries as strategic and priority sectors for the purpose of doubling or tripling the national income—to use an aggregate convenient for the argument being presented here.

In this first strategic sector, the goal that must be selected for the period from 1990 to 2001 is the rapid development of agricultural and stockraising activities based on family farms averaging from 3 to 10 hectares in size, equipped and mechanized on an individual and cooperative scale, and using the inputs and components of a modern economy. This means making tractors, motor pumps, mills, presses, fertilizer, pesticides, and insurance available through the use of credit. In view of the rapid population growth, it will be necessary to figure on about 4 hectares. In choosing that space for agriculture and stockraising, the short-term preference must be given to areas with plentiful and regular rainfall and to land downstream from dams pending the construction of canals and the refilling of the old rivers and tributaries that are to reconstitute Senegal's hydrographic system (lateral canals, the Kayoor and Ferlo Canals, and so on).

In addition to high-yield cereals (2 to 5 metric tons of millet, corn, or rice), fruits and tomatoes (17 metric tons per hectare), potatoes (17 metric tons per hectare), peanuts and soybeans (from 3 to 5 metric tons per hectare), sugarcane (13 metric tons per hectare), or other crops, the typical agricultural and stockraising activity must be concerned with the fattening of cattle, sheep, goats, swine, and poultry per hectare [as published]. The relevant financing is within the reach of the Senegalese monetary and banking system.

The second strategic sector for overcoming the crisis and achieving development in Senegal involves fisheries. In this case, foreign fishermen must be allowed to supply their home markets with products. It is necessary to reestablish the Senegalese fisherman's inalienable coastal rights in a fishing area extending from Western Sahara to the coast of Guinea. A fishing economy including fish farming could increase production from 270,000 or 300,000 metric tons per year to 600,000 or 700,000 metric tons in 10 years' time. Here again, medium-term (five-year) credit must be used to encourage the rapid development of traditional, small-scale, and semi-industrial fishing by motorizing 10,000 fishing firms having an average of from two to three boats each.

The secondary production involved in this scenario will include all those activities and industries that provide energy and goods and services for the domestic, foreign, regional, or international market and that will be stimulated by the products and abundant markets of the primary sectors, whether strategic or not: energy, water resources, the engineering industries, canning, trade, transportation, insurance, the cultural and sports industries, and so on.

***German Aid for Environmental Projects**

91AF0405A Dakar LE SOLEIL in French
19 Nov 90 p 3

[Excerpt from an article by Ndiogou Diop: "Aid Agreement With Germany"]

[Excerpt] Messrs. Jacques Baudin and Klaus Matthiesen (the former Senegalese minister of tourism and nature protection and the latter the minister of environment, regional development, and agriculture for the Northern Rhine-Westphalia Land in the Federal Republic of Germany) signed an agreement protocol in the Savana Rooms Saturday morning.

The visit of the German minister, at the invitation of his Senegalese counterpart, was prepared in close collaboration with the Friederich Ebert Foundation. Consequently, the agreements the two ministers signed concern in particular the construction of a biological station in the Djoud National Park, technical and financial aid in implementing development projects in the park, and promotion and expansion of agricultural and fishing projects there.

Messrs. Baudin and Matthiesen also discussed at length the air pollution problems of the Dakar area and the cleanup of the Mbeubeuss waste site. That is why, following a visit to Mbeubeuss, the German minister said he was prepared to send a team of experts to Senegal for an evaluative study. With his official visit ending Saturday, the press learned that Minister Matthiesen had discussed aid to protect the natural environment and biological diversity with Mr. Jacques Baudin, at the head of a delegation of experts.

In the opinion of the minister of Tourism and Nature Protection, the agreement protocol lays the groundwork for aid cooperation between the two countries on environmental problems. Mr. Baudin then expressed his regret at the departure of his counterpart, who had charmed his Senegalese hosts with his "direct, frank language." "Mr. Matthiesen calmed all our apprehensions about the project, which serves the interests of the people," added Mr. Jacques Baudin, who was fully persuaded of the German minister's support of Senegal.

On another score, the minister of tourism and nature protection expressed his conviction that his meeting with Klaus Matthiesen would further spur relations between the two countries. This proves, the minister also noted, that the Senegalese and Germans are fated to continue along an original path of sustained cooperation, a reflection of the excellent relations between Germany and Senegal and between their two governments. According to Mr. Baudin, the agreements signed are a first in the areas of environment and nature protection, with industrialized countries taking the initiative of showing solidarity—active and effective solidarity—with Third World countries. He also mentioned the

future of the planet, which depends on a healthy environment. In the minister's opinion, Senegal and Germany are pioneers in protecting nature. He therefore gave due credit to Germany for its policy—a morally satisfying one that should inspire imitators in order to safeguard the environment. [passage omitted]

Togo**Interior Minister Communique on Akposso Violence**

AB0601082891 Lome Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 2 Jan 91

[Communique issued in Lome by interior and security minister on the 31 December 1990 ranch project incident in Wawa Prefecture; date of communique not given]

[Text] About 20 years ago, an agreement was signed between the Togolese and German authorities to build a ranch in Togo. When they heard about this project, the traditional chiefs and leading citizens of the Akposso Subdistrict proposed their area for the project. Thus, with the backing of the public authorities, a ranch was set up in the Bena area, Wawa Prefecture. The citizens in Bena and its vicinity used to live in cordial understanding with the operating staff of this project headed by Mr. Meyer, a German national.

A few days ago, a private newspaper based in Lome, the capital, published an article on this ranch inciting the citizens to revolt against this project, which deprived the farmers of their lands. The reaction was unfortunately immediate, and on 31 December 1990, an unfortunate incident caused an outburst of anger among the citizens.

Indeed, between 1730 and 1800, Mr. Meyer, the manager of the farm, was driving around the ranch as usual to pick up the laborers working there and bring back the herds. On his way, he was surprised to notice that roadblocks were mounted on the paths leading to the ranch. He then called in four soldiers to help him clear these paths near Elavagnon and Ekote villages. Upon the arrival of these soldiers, the villagers, who were lying in ambush, attacked them along with Mr. Meyers, injuring one of them seriously. The injured man was rushed to Temedja. The remaining soldiers were manhandled and their weapons and ammunition taken away by the villagers.

To recover the weapons and ammunition, a 30-man military detachment under the commander of an officer was dispatched to the scene of the attack. On their arrival, the security forces were received by shots from sporting gun, stones, and sticks. All the villagers, who were armed, joined the attack, and the soldiers, who were assaulted from all sides, were forced to use their weapons to disperse the crowd. During the clash, six soldiers and six members of the crowd were injured. One of the villagers, who suffered from asthma and who had already been hospitalized at Kledjiko and Agou hospitals, died of suffocation during the clash.

Once again, the minister of interior and security calls on the citizens there to remain calm and to strive to preserve peace by avoiding use of force and violence to express their grievances, whatever they may be. As for the press, he once again makes it a point to draw its attention to the dangers it causes peaceful citizens to face

when, without assessing the consequences of their articles, it takes pleasure in inciting people to revolt and public disobedience. In this politically sensitive period, he calls on each citizen to be responsible and mature by abiding by the law in force and avoiding disturbances of peace and order.

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